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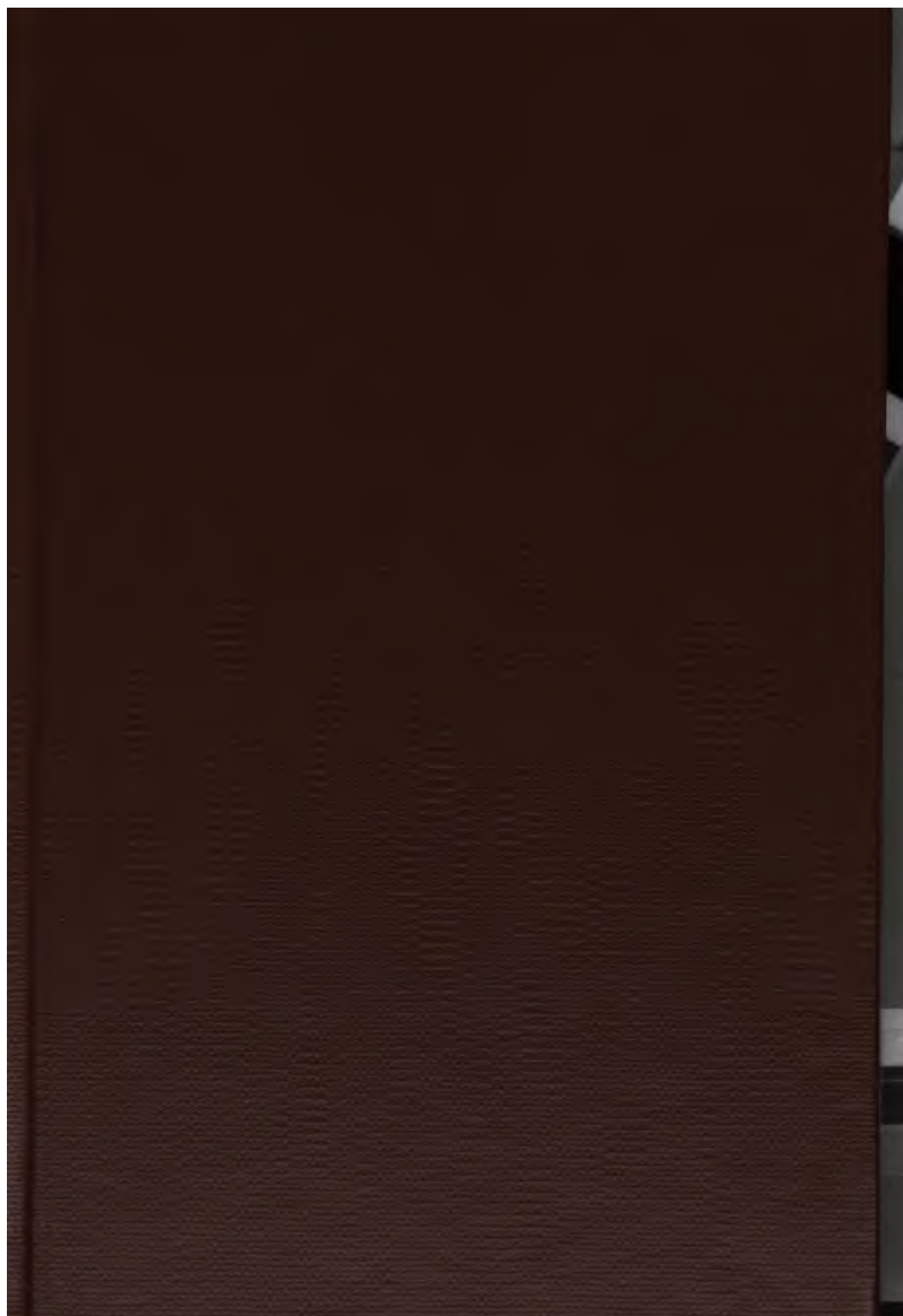
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National Child Labor Committee

105 EAST 22D STREET
NEW YORK CITY

CHILD EMPLOYING INDUSTRIES

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
JANUARY 13-16, 1910**

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NEW YORK

1910

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ANNUAL ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

FELIX ADLER,
New York City.

The National Child Labor Committee, which has been in existence for five years, and of whose work you will receive a full outline in the course of these sessions, is national, not only in scope, but in its distinctive aim. Its purpose, as I understand it, is to contribute toward the abolition of child labor and also, by means of its propaganda, to aid in infusing into the American people a new respect for the higher things in human nature.

I, for one, am startled by the fact that child labor should exist at all in the United States. No doubt it exists also in other countries, but one would have inferred, in view of the temper of the American people, of their generosity, their love for children, and their well-known benevolence, that it could not take root in this country. Why does it exist among a free and noble-spirited people? Why is it necessary that there should be state child labor committees and a National Child Labor Committee?

We are witnessing a tremendous tendency in the direction of exploitation in this country. It amounts almost to a fixed idea. We see Americans exploit the soil, ruthlessly exploit the timber, cutting down the forests on which depend the fertility of the land and the health of its inhabitants; we see the eager American exploit himself, make a physical wreck of himself, and transmit a debilitated constitution to his offspring; and in the same way we see Americans—in other respects a gentle-hearted and kindly people—exploit little children. Against the exploitation movement there has been started a conservation movement. The National Child Labor Committee is a part of this conservation movement. It has for its object to conserve the human resources, the best human assets of the nation—the health, the intelligence and the character of the children.

Perhaps you will permit me to indicate, in passing, why the exploitation tendency has become so perilously powerful. The

psychology of our national temperament should help us to an explanation. The American people are pre-eminently endowed on the side of the will, on the "motor side". They are a volitional people. Other nations, like the Greeks, Italians, etc., have been pre-eminently endowed on the intellectual and artistic side. The will among Americans expends itself chiefly upon external objects. The turn it takes is thus, in a peculiar sense, practical, leading to the multiplication of products and the vast accumulation of wealth. It would be, in my opinion, an error to suppose that the Americans are "chrematistic" and worshippers of the golden calf in the sense of prizing wealth above all other goods. No; what they seem to value is just the energizing, the free and successful venting of volition, and wealth is esteemed rather as the evidence than as the object of successful endeavor. The Puritans, who left so deep an imprint on the most progressive sections of the United States, are found to answer to the description of a people pre-eminently volitional. The Puritan faith has declined, but the Puritan set of the will has remained.

But, however, this may be, certain it is that the gospel of work in its narrow and unjustifiable sense has become the gospel of this country. What is called the "industrial spirit" is abroad in every so-called civilized land, but nowhere does it deploy itself with so little check as among us. Work for the sake of work is the watchword, and by work is meant increased production; and this is the idol to which we sacrifice the soil, the trees, our own health, and the children. We are hard toward them because we are hardened against every consideration which can check increase of production; because we are under a spell—we are ruled by a fixed idea. And this, to my thinking, is the real reason why it has been so difficult to secure the abolition of child labor despite the earnest interest of so many persons in this movement. This is the real reason why we find opposition in quarters where we should least expect it; why we not infrequently find that the so-called best men in the community, the men who are known as the pillars of charity in their neighborhoods, are the most obdurate adversaries of our cause. Business and sentiment, they think, must be kept distinct. Business requires increase of production; and since even a child's feeble strength, in connection with modern machinery, is capable of adding to the heap of products, it seems to them a kind of law of

nature that even the child should be drafted into the ranks of labor, no matter what the ulterior consequences may be.

Of course there are other arguments—I cannot help regarding them as rather pretexts than arguments—in favor of putting the burden of premature toil on the weak shoulders of the child. One argument used is that of the self-made man. He went to work, he tells us, when he was 10 or 11, and it did him no harm that he is aware of; on the contrary, it toughened him for the struggle of existence and enabled him to become the successful man he is. He forgets that so far as strength and power of endurance go he is probably exceptionally favored by nature and that hundreds of others would fail where he succeeded. He forgets, also, that so far as other qualities go, his lack of early education has probably injured him, and that, after all, successful as he may be in some respects, he may be quite a pitiable failure in other respects.

Another argument used is that the child's earnings are needed for the support of the family. This is met by the counter-argument that the competition of the child, doubtless, lowers the wages of the adult, and that the parasitic relation of parents feeding on the labor of their children is unnatural and repellent. But there is particularly one recent argument—one on which I must briefly say a word. It emanates from a man of national reputation, an eminent scientific investigator and one who is earnestly devoted to philanthropic aims. I refer to Dr. Stiles and his propaganda for the extirpation of the hookworm disease. If he is correctly reported, he maintains that the disease can better be controlled in the mills than on the farm; that the soil of the farm is polluted, and that co-operation of the mill-owners in conquering the dread disease is needed. I have asked our Dr. McKelway, who is acquainted with Southern conditions, to give you his opinion on this subject, and I will read you briefly from his letter:

“Dr. Stiles' position, I think I can state clearly. It is that the soil-polluted tenant farms of the South and the rural schoolhouses and churches are at present centers of infection for the hookworm; that the factory villages have at least an elementary scheme of sanitation which renders soil pollution less easy; that the children of the cotton-mill villages can be more easily reached than the children of the farms through the co-operation of the mill owners, and that within the next five years nothing should be done by way of re-

strictive legislation to discourage the movement from the farms to the mills.

"I am in thorough sympathy, as, of course, everybody should be, with the efforts to eradicate the hookworm evil. On the other hand, my own opinion is, first, that Dr. Stiles has taken his position on the child labor question, consciously or unconsciously, in order to secure the co-operation of the mill authorities for his work; second, that the program of legislation which he advocates for the cotton-mill states, even if it should be reached within five years, would not affect in any considerable degree, the movement from the farms to the mills; that if it affected it in any way it would be in securing more families of workers for the mills in order to take the places vacated by the children whose labor should be prohibited. This might entail the payment of higher wages than are now paid in order to secure the necessary amount of labor, but that is the normal effect of taking child workers out of competition with their elders, and is something to be striven for, since the low standard of wages for the family encourages the hiring out of the younger members of the family.

"Granting that Dr. Stiles' percentages of the number of mill people infected with the hookworm, in some instances as high as 80 per cent., are correct, it seems to me that there is all the more reason for protecting the children whose bodies have been thus enfeebled, from the consequences of too early toil. Dr. Stiles does not distinguish between work in the mills and residence in the mill village, and it is not inherently necessary that the younger members of the family should work, for the family to remain in the mill village. Furthermore, I am certain from what Dr. Stiles told me of the rural regions he has investigated, with which I happen to be personally acquainted, that he has an unstable basis of fact for his conclusions concerning the South as a whole. I have no doubt from his description of the symptoms and peculiar appearance of the people infected, that I have seen cases of hookworm in the very regions of his investigation. They are parts of the sandy region of North Carolina and South Carolina, mainly. The soil is very poor and the people are poverty stricken. It did not seem to me that Dr. Stiles had any reasonable basis of fact for his assumption that a large percentage of the people of the mountain regions were infected with the hookworm. My own investigations for the past five summers

in the North Carolina mountains have convinced me that we have there about the healthiest race of people on the continent. I have no doubt that families can be found there affected with the disease, but the physical characteristics of the mountain people whom I have seen are exactly opposite those described by Dr. Stiles as indicating the presence of the hookworm. I think that Dr. Stiles' estimate of four to five million white people in the coastal, plain and mountain regions in the South, infected with the hookworm, is tremendously exaggerated."

It is regrettable that one kind of philanthropy should stand in the way of others. Why, in the attempt to achieve social benefit in one direction, should it be deemed necessary to thwart the efforts of those who are striving for social benefit in other ways? In the house of Philanthropy, as in the house of God, there are many mansions.

I wish to say this in conclusion: Our students of social history agree that the prolongation of infancy has been, perhaps, the chief instrument by which the human race became humanized. The finer organism requires time to develop, and the sacrifices which parents bring for the sake of their offspring have reacted on them and strengthened sympathy and all the kindlier feelings. Let us not throw away the instrumentality by which we have become human. Let us not abbreviate the period dedicated to child growth and culture. Let us give the child the chance to play, to get an education at school. Let us protect it, also, from the moral dangers that are the consequence of premature employment.

The question may be asked, Why should any one be especially interested in the child labor movement? I wish to tell the reason why I, for one, am especially interested in it, and the reason is not only because the thousands of children under 14 who are still employed in the mines and mills and in the canneries, and the children under 16 who do night work in the glass houses, appeal to my profoundest sympathy, because it seems to me an incredible outrage that these things should continue among a people like ours; but, in addition to this, because I hope that our interest in the child and what the child stands for will help to break the power of the fixed idea; will help to enlighten us so that we shall better see and appreciate, than, as a nation, we do now, that there are imponderable values that must be saved; that as a man does not live

by bread alone, so, also, does he not live by work alone, and especially by work of the kind that issues in the increase of material products; and so, perhaps, it will become true, as it was written of old, that "a little child shall lead them"—lead them all into the better and more human way of life.

CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION IN MASSACHUSETTS¹

BY HON. CURTIS GUILD, JR.,
Ex-Governor of Massachusetts.

Legislation for the prevention of child labor meets the same difficulty the President has encountered in his desire to secure equitable regulation of corporations. The United States, though really a nation, is legally still a federation. It is consequently quite possible for those not in sympathy with square dealing, progress, and humanity, if barred from evil-doing by the laws of one state, to secure immunity under the laws of another.

President Taft is right in going beyond mere uniformity of laws in regard to great corporations and seeking to make one law, a national law, to govern as far as possible under the Constitution, both the incorporation and the regulation of these great organizations.

Why stop with corporation law? We have national law regulating the distilling of intoxicants; national law regulating all banks of issue; national law regulating the operation of the so-called trusts; national law regulating the settlement of bankrupts; national law, insufficient and too feebly enforced, we, of Massachusetts, think, that is supposed to secure pure food.

Why should not the development of community of law be carried further in all matters of national moment? It is better to violate a shadowy state right than to consent to a substantial national wrong. We are ready, if need be, to die in war under one common national flag. Why should we shrink from living in peace under one common national law?

National Child Labor Law Needed

The boast of America is its public schools. Why should schools be built if the children are prevented from attending? The states with stern restriction of child labor have seen their industries checked and their capital go to develop industries in states where anarchy is bred in the coal breaker and the cotton mill, where brain and body are dwarfed and stunted in little children, citizens in the mak-

¹See Appendix, account of legislative hearing for eight-hour bill and prohibition of night work.

ing, whose willing hands are scarcely large enough to swing a ball bat or cage a butterfly.

Why should it be possible for any state to offer extra dividends to capital by permitting the kind of labor that strikes at the very root of American citizenship, by dwarfing the brains as well as the bodies of future American citizens?

We must ultimately stand up, not as men of one state or of another state, but as Americans against this inhuman, this inhuman line of cleavage between the states. National law must ultimately take the children from the mills and mines and put them in the schools, not in one, but in every state in the Union.

The preparation and enactment of a national law is, however, a campaign of years. Meantime, here and now, it is obviously our duty to advance toward what we should have the courage to recognize as our ultimate goal by securing uniformity of state legislation. Such uniformity, of course, should be a process of leveling up, not of leveling down.

Massachusetts No Longer Leads

Here in Massachusetts, I regret to say, it has not been possible to advance as fast as we should have advanced. Every year we are now obliged to fight in the legislature even to retain such measure of protection for the children as we have. Every year, under the guise of philanthropy, the theatrical managers join hands with certain members of the clergy in a constant pressure that little girls of tender age be withdrawn from the protection of our child labor laws and put upon the professional stage for the daily strain of work at night amid the surroundings of mock prize fights and Amazon marches. Hitherto we have been able to defeat this pressure. The modern child becomes sophisticated soon enough, heaven knows. Neither moral, mental nor physical health can be promoted by the participation of little children night after night in the work of the *corps de ballet*. The little girl's place after dark is not in the unhealthy excitement of work before the footlights, but in the quiet restfulness of home and a mother's arms.

Five New Laws for Massachusetts

We are not content with what we have done. We are not content with preventing bad legislation in Massachusetts. We hope to

enact more good legislation. We wish Massachusetts not merely to lead in some things, but to lead in all things that make for the protection of the child, for the protection of the home. This is a government of public opinion. To succeed it must be a government of intelligent public opinion. Intelligent public opinion cannot be created if we permit children to grow up with stunted minds or stunted bodies.

The crusade for the children has progressed so rapidly in the last five years that Massachusetts must act and act now if she would recover the leadership which she now no longer holds in this great reform.

New York, New Jersey and the Central West have in the last three years outstripped even Massachusetts in the care of the children and far outstripped the rest of New England, which as a section is descending lower and lower in the scale as other sections advance.

To the end of restoring to Massachusetts her lost leadership five specific reforms have been suggested by the Massachusetts State Child Labor Committee.

Shorter Hours

1. Shorter hours for children between fourteen and sixteen years of age.

In spite of the recent law reducing the legal number of hours a week for factory labor, it is still possible to work a child for ten hours in any one day in any Massachusetts factory. This is not the varied work of a college professor, or of a clergyman, nor the interesting work of a sculptor or an artist, but the dreary, monotonous feeding of machines. Wisconsin, Colorado, California, Delaware, Idaho, Missouri, New Jersey, together with Oklahoma, Ohio, Illinois, Nebraska and New York, all have a shorter working day for children than Massachusetts. The last five states restrict the number of working hours rigidly to not over eight hours a day. To the objection that shorter hours for children mean necessarily shorter hours for adults also, the experience of Ohio shows that this objection can be met by hiring two shifts of children, if they must be hired at all, who divide the long working day between them.

No Night Work

2. No night work for children.

In 1907 Massachusetts enacted a law prohibiting any minor under eighteen or any woman from working before six o'clock in the morning or after six o'clock in the evening in textile factories.

This was a wise law. It should be extended. Why should not the same prohibition of night work by children in textile factories be extended to children in all employments? Night work of any kind is exhausting enough to men. It is obviously unfit for children. Existing law in Massachusetts, except as to textile factories, in this respect lags behind that in Ohio, New York, Oregon, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, Nebraska and Rhode Island.

Medical Certificates Urged

3. Children in unsound health should be barred from work that will prevent their recovery.

In 1906 and 1908 statutes were enacted by Massachusetts insisting upon medical inspection for all children in the public schools of Massachusetts. This statute needs amendment, as its provisions are evaded and not enforced by many of our cities and towns. The machinery for such inspection, however, does exist.

The school departments now issue age and schooling certificates for children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years who wish to work. It would be perfectly simple to issue to the same child at the same time a health certificate from the physician already assigned to the school. Such certificate should be used as the age certificate is used, that tendency to tuberculosis, heart disease, or affections of the eyes or spine may not be converted into chronic disease by premature employment.

A second test of health should be made by the state health examiners when the minor applies at the factory for work. Some diseases, not necessarily a bar to all work, should effectually prevent employment at some particular work. A child with weak lungs, who may be killed by employment in a cotton mill, may be positively benefited by regular physical exercise in the open air.

Dangerous Trades Barred

4. The occupation of children in positively dangerous trades or processes of trades should be prohibited.

In 1907 a statute was enacted in Massachusetts providing for the dividing of the commonwealth into fifteen health districts, in which fifteen health inspectors appointed by the governor should inspect not merely general sanitary conditions, but the actual conditions of health of the people and particularly of those working in factories.

Their reports have been most valuable and have already led to much-needed reforms. The inspectors have discovered among other things that certain trades, damaging to all health, are particularly dangerous, if not deadly, to those who have not attained the strength of adult age.

All the health inspectors can do at present is to report and recommend. They have no power to remove children from unwholesome work. The State Board of Health should be given authority to describe which occupations or processes of manufacture are peculiarly dangerous to minors. The health inspectors working under its control should be given authority to remove children engaged in such occupations or to transfer them to some other process in the same occupation that may not be similarly dangerous.

There is at present in Massachusetts a vague prohibition of the employment of children in occupations dangerous to health and morals. The employment of children is prohibited under certain circumstances, in the manufacture of acids. Both these laws are a dead letter.

Massachusetts has a chance to lead the Union by the preparation, scientifically, of a blacklist of dangerous processes. Most lists hitherto prepared are utterly unscientific. There should be a distinction between industries where all work is undertaken at the risk of the worker, and industries where only certain processes are a menace to health.

In some forms of manufacture all processes, except packing and shipping, are dangerous, especially to those whose immaturity makes them less able to resist unfavorable conditions. Such an industry is the manufacture of pearl shell. As Dr. Hanson, of the Massachusetts State Board of Health, has recently shown, even with the most approved processes of manufacture, employees in the pearl industry are always subjected to a certain amount of dust, which, being a non-metallic mineral dust, not only irritates the throat and trachea, causing one to cough and to clear the throat by

expelling mucus with dust, but may, over a period of years, extend its action to the lungs and give rise to shortness of breath and other symptoms of dust-diseased lungs, or of tubercular complication. For this reason it is none too radical a step to bring such pressure to bear upon the manufacturer of mother-of-pearl goods as will prevent the employment of either boys or girls under eighteen years of age.

On the other hand, rubber factories should not be entirely banned from the employment of minors, but only the particular processes in those factories, such as rubber cement work, where the constant inhalation of toxic naphtha fumes, always unwholesome, is particularly deadly in its effect on the undeveloped nerves and organs of the young.

What is needed is a clean-cut, specific list of processes and of manufactures, prepared by medical experts, from which all minors should be excluded. Moreover, power should be given to the health inspectors for summary action on the spot when children are found so employed.

Illinois, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio and Wisconsin have such laws. Why not Massachusetts?

Street Children Need Protection

5. The so-called Boston regulations in regard to children employed in street trades should be strengthened and enlarged.

The Massachusetts law of 1902, amended and enlarged in 1906, in which the powers to regulate and license the more youthful street peddlers is vested in the school committees of cities, has worked admirably in Boston, where it was first tried. Most other cities, however, have not adopted it, the act being permissive. It should be a mandatory act on all communities of any size. Moreover, the penalty for violation of the act now falls on the child. The penalty should be made to fall also on the person who sends him to work or the person who supplies him with his wares. The so-called Boston law enacted by Massachusetts for street children has been found to be the best and most workable of any yet devised. In this respect Massachusetts still leads.

We have made beginnings by national law to remove the abuse of child labor for the whole United States. Let us help the cause by attending to our own front yard and make Massachusetts a happier home for the children.

SYMPOSIUM—ANTAGONISTIC FORCES

I. FALSE ECONOMIC IDEAS

BY CHARLES F. SMITH,
President, Landers, Frary & Clark, New Britain, Conn.

Living in a city given over to the manufacture of hardware and kindred lines, in a state given over to manufacturing—with the employment age fixed at fourteen years—I can only claim to know the child labor question as I see it at home. Having some radical ideas on the subject, I have, fortunately, been able to put them into practice, and in putting them into practice have come to certain conclusions. If I state some of those conclusions before telling of the experiment, it is on the ground that when the cart precedes the horse, though it is not logical, it may be interesting.

It is my belief that the reason many employers of labor hire, when they can, boys fourteen years old and younger, is because they have not investigated carefully the relative economy of the boy of fourteen and his older brother. They have not in this matter made the observations, based on actual experiments, which they are used to making concerning every other factor in their business, and they are unable, therefore, to draw accurate conclusions. Many manufacturers who, as a result of careful experiment and study, know exactly the relative economies of different kinds of engines, boilers, machines, materials and processes, take it for granted, apparently without experiment, that the boy of fourteen must be more profitable than the boy of, say, sixteen, because his wages are less.

The Machine and the Man

This is one of the curious things in my manufacturing experience—to see how much study is given to the machine and how little to the man. The inanimate things that go into a manufactured product are scientifically analyzed and compared, and then selected; but science usually stops when it comes to the animate things, the human element, and whether this grade of labor at one price, or that grade at another, can be more profitably used, is a question that is not decided by her accurate methods.

Some day the study of the human element in factory work and in business—a very interesting study and one which sometimes brings you into altogether unexpected places—will get the attention it needs. Some day there will be, perhaps, in our technical schools a professorship of the humanities—and our future captains of industry may then, haply, be taught how to deal scientifically with the human element of production. When that time comes, problems of child labor, and many other labor problems, will be found vastly easier to solve.

An Experiment in Economy

But to get back to my own experiment, which is the reason why I have been invited to address you.

Some three years ago I became interested in the child labor movement. Soon after, the company I represent, employing now about 2000 operatives, 400 of them minors, stopped employing children under sixteen years of age, and for a long time has had no employee on its payrolls under that age. It is to be confessed frankly that this original action was prompted by sentiment, but, as it has worked out, it is reason based on experience that makes us now abide by it.

We have to pay a little more wages to a boy of sixteen than we would to one of fourteen, but he does a little more work; he does it a little better; he is a little better able to take care of himself; a little less likely to cause accidents to others, to himself or to the tools he uses; a little less likely to spoil things. He knows two years more than the boy of fourteen, and should develop into a better workman for that reason, and he is two years nearer the time when he will be one. It seems to us that, on the whole, he is, therefore, a better investment than the boy of fourteen.

There is another phase not to be overlooked, namely, the influence of this policy on the other operatives. Impossible as it is to estimate this, it is surely true that it helps to make a little kindlier feeling toward the management. "Blood money," I have heard workmen call the wages paid to young children. A feeling so deep as that must, its cause being removed, have a reflex action not, indeed, to be measured, but certainly of some benefit to the employer, and well worth thinking about.

I do not attempt to speak of other than the industries kindred to

that in which I am engaged, though it seems the general features of the case might be true, speaking broadly, of all manufacture; but I have small doubt that if manufacturers in kindred industries would try the experiment they would duplicate our experience.

It is to be expected that the question will be asked: "What if there are not enough boys and girls of sixteen or older to fill the places now occupied by younger persons?" My answer is that such a shortage, if it should exist, should be made up by employing men and women; that we are not here primarily to do business; that any business which employs children so young that their physical and moral growth is dwarfed and stunted is, to the extent to which it so employs them, an evil in the community, and not a benefit.

Compensations

I do not wish to dogmatize, nor to argue from the success of our own experiment that if there were a national law fixing the age of employment at sixteen years, there would not be some increase in the first cost of doing business. Of course there would be, and it is a good thing that such should be the case; but there would be, to set over against that increase, many compensations. The betterment of the moral and physical health of the workers; the increased power of consumption that always comes with an increased wage; a better class of artisans as result of the extra two years available for educational purposes. Who shall say that in the long run there would not be sufficient compensation for the increased cost? But such a law is, I fear, a long way off, and my point is that at the present time in many industries it is possible for those employers who have advanced ideas on this question to put those ideas into practice without any, or, at most, a trifling expense to themselves.

Ultimately those great forces which slowly make for the more equal distribution of the burdens as well as the rewards of life will, by law, raise the age of employment. In the meantime, whoever can work out successfully in his business the experiment we have made can have the satisfaction of knowing that he is working on the side of the angels without its costing him anything, and that is a proposition which, whether viewed from the ethical or business standpoint, seems to me a very good one.

II. UNEQUAL LAWS AN IMPEDIMENT TO CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

BY SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY,
Professor of Social Legislation in Columbia University.

Unequal laws constitute a force antagonistic to the progress that should be made in the perfection of child labor legislation. It partly explains why more rapid progress has not been made with less effort than has already been put forth in this movement. You will see from the program of this meeting that we intend to dissect the obstacles to child labor reform this evening, and a number of them are enumerated on the program about which we shall hear from various speakers. Among these forces, in addition to unequal laws, are the false economic ideas of many persons engaged in industry, the demand for cheap labor, the indifference of the Church and moral forces, inadequate schools and school facilities. I suppose that the list might have been very much enlarged by the Program Committee if there were time to include more speakers in a single evening's discussion.

There are, of course, very many obstacles to child labor reform which ought to be removed, it would seem, by a mere statement of the case with respect to the rights of childhood. At first sight we would naturally think that unequal laws were a gain rather than a hindrance in this struggle, that experiments in different states would prove different things, and that from this combined experience we might gain many lessons that would help to make progress more rapid. As a matter of fact, however, unequal laws for the protection of childhood in the several states of the Union mean either an unequal standard of civilization in different parts of the country, which we would not like to admit, or the lack of organization in order to bring about uniform and equal protection, which it is the avowed purpose of the National Child Labor Committee to promote. The standard of civilization over an area as large as that of the United States cannot be absolutely uniform. We have too varied a population and too varied industrial interests to expect that. Yet with the unity and patriotism there is in American life,

it is not unreasonable for us to suppose that in a matter of this kind, in the protection of childhood, that we may, by means of the sheer force of educated public opinion, be able to carry over certain elements in our population that have not perhaps as high a standard as the bulk of our civilization, to the highest possible standard that can be secured in a majority of the states. It is possible at times for a people to make a sudden jump, to go from one stage of civilization to another with very great rapidity. History shows this in many instances. Permit me to cite one illustration which comes readily to mind, and carries with it no aspersion on the race which I shall mention. The Italian in this country, especially the Italian who comes to us from Sicily, brings here an elemental standard of justice very different from our own. It is perhaps, to put it in a single word, the standard of personal retaliation as measured by the use of the stiletto, and not justice measured by the sober processes of a court. And yet there has been no more interesting phenomenon to be observed than the readiness with which the Italian adjusts himself in a comparatively short time to this other mode of settling the differences that he may have with his fellows. In other words, he makes a jump in a few months or years that has taken other people under different conditions generations to make. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that in the matter of a standard for the protection of childhood we may expect those states or parts of states that are backward in this matter to be able to take a very sudden leap to a comparatively high standard, when we are able to make that standard clear and to suggest the machinery for its enforcement.

Unequal Laws Unfair

Is it fair that American social organization, for that is what the sum of our state legislation means, should make the birthright of the American child mean less in one state than in another? In Massachusetts than in Wisconsin? In Ohio than in New York? In Maine than in Texas? In Florida than in Iowa? But unequal laws in these various jurisdictions mean more than this. They penalize the citizens of the more advanced states and give an unfair advantage to the thoughtless, ignorant and unscrupulous, who are always ready to avail themselves of that advantage. Is it fair to hold back the measure of protection to childhood granted by and for the people of the more progressive states in order that the people

of the poorer states may have an industrial differential in respect to wages or other competitive factors in business? Shall we give the people of the backward states a sort of government bounty in the matter of wages and hours, and that at the expense of the children of the entire country?

Unequal laws mean that the child remains a factor in industrial competition, which is keen enough in modern industry with respect to skilled labor, raw materials, inventions of machinery, business organization, etc., to satisfy the most strenuous captain of industry, even if the child can be entirely eliminated. To eliminate the child from competitive industry rather than from all labor ought to be the one great task of our National Child Labor Committee.

Hinder Enforcement

The real obstacle of unequal laws is felt in the matter of enforcement of child labor laws. Here inequality in the laws of states within the same industrial areas makes the task of a factory inspector hard. We all know how difficult it is to enforce a law, for example, in Ohio in respect to the glass industry, where they are not allowed to employ children at night under sixteen years of age, while competing manufacturers across the border in West Virginia may employ a child at a much younger age, or in Pennsylvania, where they may employ a child at the age of fourteen at night work. The element of weakness in the enforcement of legislation is perhaps the most definite measure of the difficulties that come from unequal legislation on all questions affecting industrial competition. On the other hand, there are very few business men who are not ready to listen to a proposition that looks to giving larger opportunities to the children of the country and thereby providing them with larger opportunities for industrial education, which the business man is keen enough to see will mean a greater future efficiency of labor in which he has a direct interest as well as the child, provided you can make it clear to that man that by agreeing to protection against premature employment he is not handicapping himself in his competition with other men in the same industry. To give a perfectly concrete illustration, we may refer again to the glass industry as a fair example of what we have actually encountered in child labor reform. The glass industry is confined to a comparatively few states, perhaps six states in all would be sufficient to

constitute what we may call the "glass states" of the American Union. At any rate, if manufacturers and reformers alike could come to an agreement on a reasonable measure for the protection of children employed in the glass industry in those five or six states, I venture to predict that every other state would be willing to follow in similar legislation in so far as the glass industry is concerned. Now, as a matter of fact, in the efforts the National and State Child Labor Committees have made in the State of New Jersey, year after year, to have the age limit for night work raised to the age of sixteen, we have been met very frankly and very determinedly by the glass manufacturers with the argument that they cannot afford to add to their payroll the additional wages that would be required, when across the border in Pennsylvania boys of fourteen may work at night, and until recently by reason of inadequate certificates and deficient enforcement even some boys under the age of fourteen.

Now, it is perfectly evident that if the glass manufacturers could be assured that the conditions would be equalized in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey and West Virginia, they could be easily convinced that it was to their interest as well as to the interest of the community to release children under sixteen.

Contingent Legislation

The question of how such uniformity may be secured in order to give us an alternative for the unequal conditions under our laws as just described, is one that does not properly form a part of this discussion. It may not be inappropriate, however, to suggest a remedy that I mentioned tentatively at our annual meeting last year, and which it is my purpose to enlarge upon in another connection, and to present to the Conference on Uniform Laws to be held in Washington next week. I refer to an intermediate step that may be taken in the matter of securing uniform legislation; namely, to propose statutes in the several states comprising a definite industrial area for enactment as concurrent and contingent legislation. Thus a bill embodying an agreement that would eliminate children under sixteen working at night, let us say, might be presented simultaneously to the legislatures of such of the six states covering the glass industry as have not already adopted this provision of law and in the form of concurrent legislation, the act in each state to go into effect contingent upon the passage of the same or a similar act in the other states as specified.

There are already precedents in American state and national legislation for such contingent legislation, and it might be well to follow the example of Congress in the matter of federal legislation by definitely providing that such statutes shall go into effect upon proclamation of the governor, setting forth the fact that the contingency has been met, just as Congress frequently authorizes the President to put into effect some provision of law, subject to a contingency, to the satisfaction of which he certifies. This method would enlist governors in recommending and promoting measures which had been adopted in the other competing states of a particular industrial group.

Precedents

In 1895 the State of New Jersey passed a law for the protection of sturgeon in the Delaware River, and that law was a perfect statute as it passed the legislature, but it was not to go into effect until similar legislation was passed by Pennsylvania and Delaware. By the passage of child labor laws meeting the particular conditions of definite industries and industrial areas, and contingent upon the enactment of a similar standard in all of the states actually involved in the competitive factors of the definite industry in question it may be possible to overcome some of the obstacles presented by unequal laws.

It seems to me that it is a matter our child labor committees might very well seriously consider whether it is not possible to promote conferences among manufacturers in groups of states that are controlled by particular industries to the end that we may come to some agreement on statutes not necessarily to be passed in all forty-six jurisdictions, but statutes that may be agreed upon in three, four or five states where an industry is predominant. Our problem would be simpler if we could confine our efforts to having uniform statutes passed in relatively small groups of states.

Our Task Just Begun

Great progress has been made during the past five years in child-labor legislation which has tended to equalize the protection extended by the laws of all our states to their children, and the active support of the work of the National Child Labor Committee, if con-

tinued and increased by the American people proportionately to the great task that remains for the committee to perform, will result in organization and uniformity in legislation that will mean a high standard of education and efficiency for every American child—for the immigrant children who have the good fortune to be brought to our shores as well as for the children born on our soil. Industry and American enterprise will still flourish and have more lasting fruits when the child is absolutely removed from the arena of industrial competition and from every possibility of exploitation and is free to play, to study, and to work under the most rational regime of culture—physical, mental, and spiritual—that our civilization can afford.

Results

If we do succeed in giving greater protection to the child, in securing for all children greater freedom to play and to work in an educational way, it will *ipso facto* throw a greater burden upon our educational machinery. It will force our communities to devote more attention and larger funds to provide the necessary facilities for education that will train children in a better way than our mills and factories are doing now. The National Child Labor Committee has not in its five years of existence accomplished all that it anticipated at the outset it could do in five years. I remember very well at some of our initial meetings the attitude of the more far-seeing members of our committee who felt that the task before us would be a very easy one and a very short one. When we planned for organization in different states, even in the smaller matters of office equipment, etc., many of us were thinking only of the needs for temporary organization. We had the idea that the mere statement of the facts concerning children in industry under the conditions that we knew existed in many parts of the country, if certified to by people in all walks of life, would be sufficient through adequate publicity to solve this question. Now, we have been working five years, and I think there is not a member of the National Committee to-day who would not say that it is likely we shall be working five more years or ten more years, rather than one more year, before we shall have attained any measure of success with which we shall be satisfied. In other words, it is a very difficult task we still have before us. The very fact that we have to

work through so many legislatures, that we are necessarily dependent on legislative measures for so many remedies, increases the difficulties of our work. If I have made clear the handicap that unequal laws has put on our work in many large industrial areas, we shall hope to have the support of very many more people than we have yet enrolled in this campaign, and then with a very much more intelligent understanding of the forces lying back of and controlling American industry, we shall hope to achieve greater results, meaning greater social opportunity for the children of America, and fairer conditions for those industries that thrive without the labor of children.

III. INDIFFERENCE OF THE CHURCH TO CHILD LABOR REFORM

BY REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES,
Pastor, Church of the Messiah, New York.

I have no doubt it is a matter of no little surprise to a great many pious and well-intentioned people to find the Church named among the forces described as antagonistic to child labor reform. But to those who know something of the miseries involved in the labor of little boys and little girls, who understand something of the amount of work to be done before our country can be relieved from the unspeakable disgrace of child slavery, who see the public opinion that must be educated, inspired, and directed before this work can even partially be accomplished, who see what such a rich and powerful institution as the Church might do in the education and inspiration and direction of this public opinion, and who see this same Church as a whole now standing indifferent and complacent before the miserable problem, to such, I say, it is a matter of surprise not that the Church is indicted here upon this program as an enemy of social change, but that this indictment has been so long delayed. For when has the Church as a body ever really been the champion of any great movement for social, industrial, or political emancipation, and when have the prophets of such movements ever found in the typical church anything but averted faces and indifferent hearts?

To go no further back into the history of Christian civilization than sixty years ago, and to wander no farther afield than our own country, look at the attitude taken by the churches of America, with a few glorious exceptions, toward the greatest social crusade of the nineteenth century—the anti-slavery movement of Garrison, Whittier, and John Brown. Not merely was the Church, as a body, indifferent to the abolitionists, but again and again it was openly hostile; not merely did the Church refuse to attack the institution of slavery, but it actually defended it, and like the devil, to whom it professed to be opposed, quoted Scripture in its behalf; and when the battle had been fought and the victory achieved, and the

laurel crowns of triumph distributed to those who had endured the dust and fury of the combat, those crowns rested upon the brows only of those whom the Church had driven from her sanctuary.

Or take the great fight for tenement-house reform in the early nineties in New York City. When that heroic band of crusaders, under the leadership of men like Jacob A. Riis and Richard Watson Gilder, entered upon their campaign for the relief of the dwellers in the hideous tenements upon the East Side, fighting for sunlight, fresh air, pure water, and decent sanitation—conditions of living at least as good as those provided by the ordinary man for his horses and his dogs—these men not only found themselves confronted by an almost solid phalanx of indifferent churches, but in the very front rank they encountered the richest Protestant church in America, which was so zealous to serve the needs of men, that it fought the newly enacted tenement-house laws to the highest court in New York state.

Or, again, take the great trades-union movement of the last twenty or thirty years. I count this movement for the organization and uplift of American labor as the finest exemplification on the one hand of the political spirit of democracy, and on the other hand, of the religious spirit of brotherhood, that our country has seen during the past two generations; and yet the weak and stumbling laboring man, at enormous sacrifice, has fought his battle for industrial freedom all alone, and the Church of God as an organization has not so much as lifted a little finger in his behalf. Yet the Church has the impudence to complain that the laboring man to-day does not worship within its portals! The truth of the matter is, the Church, with such glorious exceptions as are familiar to us all, has never been the champion of social reform, has never been the leader of social progress. Seeing evil, it has declined to interfere; looking upon iniquity, it has refused to smite; gazing full upon industrial oppression, it has refrained from opposition; finding men, apparently respectable, guilty of "all manner of extortion and excess", it has spoken no rebuke. And all the while the Church, thus recreant to its real task of establishing upon the earth the Kingdom of God, has soothed its conscience by building splendid cathedrals, reciting long prayers, singing loud hymns of adoration, preaching pious sermons, remembering the Sabbath day to keep it holy, and smiting the traditional sins of drunkenness, adultery,

and atheism; to-day, as yesterday, careful about "the mint, the anise, and the cummin", and neglectful of the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy, and goodwill among men! Says Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch, in his epoch-making book, *The Church and the Social Crisis*, speaking with the authority of an exact and thorough knowledge of ecclesiastical history: "The essential purpose of Christianity was to transform human society into the Kingdom of God by regenerating all human relations and reconstituting them in accordance with the will of God." "But", he continues, "the Church has never yet undertaken to carry out this fundamental purpose of its existence."

This being the attitude in the past toward nearly all great movements for the transformation of human society, why should we be surprised to find that the Church, as a whole, to-day is maintaining this same attitude toward child labor reform, one of the latest of our modern specialized crusades for social justice? Those familiar only with the life of Jesus might well expect something wholly different from the Church, perhaps, in this particular case. Remembering how Jesus gathered the little children in his arms and blessed them, how he declared that it was not the will of God that even one of these little ones should perish, and how he proclaimed that whosoever offended one of these little ones, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he were cast into the sea, they might well imagine that the Church, which acclaims this Nazarene as Lord and Master, would, in this case, if in no other, hear the call for deliverance and give answer in no uncertain tones. But those who are familiar, as Professor Rauschenbusch is familiar, with the Church's "failure" to fulfill its essential purpose of transforming society into the Kingdom of God, are not surprised to find that the Church, in this case, as in nearly every other, has been all too faithless to its appointed task. In its indifference to the child labor movement, the Church is doing nothing more nor less than living up to its own record. It is consistent, that is all! To say this is not to criticize the Church unjustly. I am myself a clergyman, and would not, for very shame, wantonly assail that institution which I am sworn to serve. But if, in very virtue of my office, I am under obligation not to be unjust, I would remind you that I am under equal obligation to be just, and justice forces the confession that the Church has been very largely recreant to its trust, and never more recreant than in its indifference to child labor reform.

That I am standing here to-night, speaking upon this subject assigned me by the Child Labor Committee, is in itself sufficient evidence of the fact of the Church's indifference. The reasons for this indifference are, perhaps, not so evident. Why is it, you naturally enough ask, that the Church does not arouse itself and enter into this fight for the emancipation of children from grinding toil as though it meant business? Why is the Church, as a whole, to-day standing oblivious, while "wrong rules the land and waiting justice sleeps"? What is the reason for the Church's indifference to social needs? To answer this question adequately would be to write the history of ecclesiastical Christianity from the fourth century A. D. down even to the present moment. It would mean such an elaborate study of Christian history as Professor Rauschenbusch has given in that famous fourth chapter of his *The Church and the Social Crisis*, which he entitles "Why Has Christianity Never Undertaken the Work of Social Reconstruction". But in lieu of this, it is only possible to make certain sweeping generalizations, which do not by any means apply to all individual churches or all individual ministers, but which may not unjustly be said to apply to the typical church and the typical minister. It is of these only that I speak, leaving you to note such exceptions to my statements as any even casual knowledge of modern church tendencies makes perfectly evident.

Denominationalism

First of all I would name the evil of denominationalism. Here in the world of Christendom to-day do we see hundreds of differing sects, each concerned not with the worship of God or the service of man, but with the establishment of its own private and patented and copyrighted interpretation of Christian doctrine. Church is arrayed against church, minister against minister, in no more serious difference than the translation of a Bible text, or the hair-splitting quibble of a theological distinction. While the Church is thus devoting its energies to the solution of these purely sectarian problems, society is abandoned to its own devices, and social iniquity left to flourish undisturbed. That society should fall into the hands of Methodists or Unitarians or Christian Scientists has aroused the Church to a crusade of opposition; but that society should fall into the hands of grafters, money-mad capi-

talists, and war-crazed statesmen, is contemplated by the Church with comparative indifference. It smites the church of a different sect across the street, but forgets the gambling den around the corner. It assails the heretical minister downtown, but only now and then speaks a word against the employer of little children and under-paid women. Even when the churches are not assailing one another, but are living together in more or less peace and harmony, as is to-day more and more coming to be the case, they are still paralyzed as social forces by reason of absorption in their own petty sectarian affairs. The Unitarian churches are busy not in serving society, but in organizing new Unitarian churches. The Presbyterian churches are interested not in providing for the social welfare of the American people, but in furthering the prosperity of their Presbyterian missionary organizations. Each church is so absorbed in keeping its own denominational machinery going and in solving its own denominational problems, that it has no time and strength to give to the machinery of society or to the solving of the vexing problems of modern social life.

The churches are indifferent to such a public reform as the child labor movement because they are so vitally concerned with the private work of their own sectarian propaganda, and I venture to assert that the churches will never be aroused to their duty in this matter until all denominational barriers have been torn down, all denominational titles wiped away, and all churches have joined in one great army of the living God!

Other Worldliness

As a second reason for the Church's indifference to child labor reform, I would name the "other-world" conception of religion, which has led the Church astray for centuries. To-day, as for so many generations, the Church is laying the emphasis of its teaching upon the life beyond the grave, and is thus neglecting the life upon this side of the grave. The Church presents itself to men as a means of salvation from the temptations and sins of this world, and, therefore, of safe entrance into the joys of the future world. The Church is busy urging men to turn their thoughts away from the problems of this purely transient life and give themselves up to preparation for that eternal life which is to come. And this being the traditional attitude of the Church toward this present world, it

is easy to understand why it does not greatly concern itself with the regeneration of existing society. Other organizations may concern themselves with cleaning the streets of our cities, but the Church must think only of the golden streets of the New Jerusalem! Other organizations may be interested in providing short hours and adequate wages and decent conditions of labor for the men and women who toil in our factories and shops, but the Church must think only of the souls of these men and women in the next world, regardless of what happens to their bodies in this present world! Other societies may devote themselves to the emancipation of little boys and little girls from exhausting labor, but the Church is interested only in bringing these children to Christ—whatsoever that may mean! Again, I venture to assert, that the Church will never be aroused to a real interest in the child labor reform or any other great social movement, until it has forgotten all about what may lie beyond the grave, and has turned its exclusive attention to what can be seen and experienced upon this side the grave!

Religion for Export

As a third reason for the Church's indifference to child labor reform, I would name that which is closely analogous to that of which we have just been speaking; namely, the interest of the great body of Christian churches in what are known as foreign missions. Let me state with all possible emphasis that, although a clergyman of a church which has never been greatly interested in the work of foreign missions, I am not at all opposed to these activities in themselves. What I am opposed to is the support of foreign missions to the neglect of home missions. It is all well and good enough to export religion, providing that you have a surplus after your own crying needs have been satisfied, but when I look at the political and social and industrial conditions of our own country, when I behold such a picture as that presented by the recent Pittsburg Survey, when I think of the toil-worn men and underpaid women who are destroyed little by little by our remorseless industrial machinery, when I think of the hundreds of thousands of little children toiling in factories and mines, that their greedy employers may fatten upon the blood-money which they create, I would venture to assert in all humility that the American people at the present time have no religion for purposes of export.

I can think of nothing more impudent than for the Christian churches of this country to bring to foreign lands that gospel of Jesus Christ which they have not learned themselves, and to the practice of which they have not as yet converted their own civilization. It is all right to attempt to Christianize a pagan land, provided that this pagan land of America is Christianized; and I believe, therefore, that it would be better for the churches if they turned their gaze full upon their own communities. And yet to-day, as yesterday, there is no easier way to arouse the enthusiasm of the churches than to inaugurate a foreign mission campaign, and nothing harder to accomplish than to interest the churches in a campaign for the redemption of our own society. A year or so ago there was established in New York City what was called the Ethical-Social League of New York City, the purpose of this organization being to unite the churches of the city with the various secular agencies working for social reform in a general campaign for the social redemption of this great American metropolis. This League has taken up, one by one, such questions as unemployment, tenement-house reform, child labor, and, in spite of able leadership, it has succeeded in accomplishing almost nothing. The League is to-day sick unto death, and this for the reason, as the director has told me personally, that it has been impossible to arouse the interest of the churches in these problems. And yet, at this very moment, the so-called "Laymen's Missionary League" is holding a great series of revival services in New York, and every orthodox church in the city is aroused to a very fever of devoted enthusiasm. Enthusiastic over cleaning up the wilderness of Africa, but indifferent to cleaning up the wilderness of the East Side! Enthusiastic over saving the downtrodden women of India and China and Japan, but indifferent to the thousands of downtrodden women in America! Enthusiastic over "saving the little ones" in distant lands, but indifferent to the hundred of thousands of little ones annually perishing in our own! I tell you, my friends, charity begins at home! Religion begins at our own door. True Christianity means keeping your own back yard clean and putting ashes on your own sidewalk. If ever the Church is to do the work it ought to do for child labor reform, or any other social movement, it must first be taught to establish the Kingdom of God in its own community, before it attempts to establish this kingdom in countries far away across the seas!

Call Nothing Common or Unclean

As a fourth reason for the indifference of the Church to child labor reform, let me speak of that astonishing idea which has persuaded the Church in all ages to assert that religion, as such, has nothing to do with political or industrial questions of any kind. This idea has its root in that fallacious distinction which has always been made between sacred and secular, and which has consigned to the care of the Church the one, and frankly removed from its control, or even interest, the other. The Church, it is argued, has to do with spiritual, not worldly, matters. It has its sacred book—all others are profane. It has its holy day—all others are common. It has its one specific field of sacred work—all others are secular. Assiduously preserving the Sabbath from profanation by innocent amusements or open art galleries and libraries, it is careless of the profanation of other days in the week by criminal political bargains and scandalous business deals; tireless in lifting its voice in denunciation of agnosticism or failure to attend divine services or indifference to the creed and the sacraments, it is silent about underpaid women; silent about the monopolizing of the necessities of life; silent about the private ownership of public resources; silent about the working of children to death in factories and mines! What spectacle could be more pitiful than this? If it is not the business of the Church to concern itself with all the ills from which human society is suffering, then it has no business to transact. If it is not the duty of the Church to fight the good fight for mercy, justice and good faith in the world of everyday affairs, then it has no duty to discharge. If it is not the task of the Church to redeem little children from helpless toil, then it has no task of redemption to fulfill. Never, I believe, will the churches be aroused to a true sense of their duty in regard to child labor, or any other social reform, until they are made to see in a far truer sense than has ever yet been understood that their field is the world—the world of toiling, suffering, downtrodden, oppressed men and women and children.

Tyranny of the Pew

And as a final reason for the Church's indifference to the child labor movement, I venture to offer this, that the men who are most largely responsible for the labor of children, the men who employ these children and grow rich from the wealth these children

create, these men are many of them sitting in the front pews of the churches, occupying offices in parish committees, and paying the salaries of the ministers. It is easy for the minister to denounce the saloonkeeper and hold him responsible for drunkenness, for the reason that the saloonkeeper does not usually go to church; but it is not so easy to denounce the employer of child labor, when he is sitting right before you and listening to your words. It is easy for the minister to criticise the trade unionist and denounce him when he attacks the "scab", for the reason that the laboring man is not a contributing member of the church; but it is not so easy to criticise the Manufacturers' Association, which is doing its level best to crush the trade unionist into serfdom, when the members of that Association are heavy financial contributors to your religious society. It is easy for the minister to denounce the white-slave traffic, because the ordinary trafficker in this loathsome form of business never hears the words spoken in condemnation of his crime; but it is not so easy to denounce the man who pays girls in his stores an inadequate wage, and thus profits from a white-slave traffic of his own, when that man helps to pay your salary. The typical church to-day, especially in our cities, is a class institution, and the men and women responsible for the peculiar political and industrial evils which are afflicting our country, and who are profiting by these evils, are the very ones who compose that class which is to-day inside the church. The members of the church to-day have no intention of supporting pulpits which shall be engaged in exposing the "new varieties of sin", of which these members, wittingly or unwittingly, are guilty; in attacking the industrial practices from which these members draw their fortunes; or in assailing that social system of which these members are the beneficiaries. Hence the Church is paralyzed, and in the great battle of industrial democracy, the distinctive battle of our time, the Church is the champion not of the downtrodden many, but of the dominant and selfish few.

Here, now, are some of the reasons why the Church, as a whole, is so indifferent to the child labor and other social reform movements of our day. Deceived by false theologies, ensnared by artificial and remote issues, captured by material ambition and worldly pride, made the instrument first of a corrupt and selfish priesthood, and now of a corrupt and selfish social class, ministered unto and not ministering, how far has the Church been led from the simple purpose of Jesus, which was to bring in the Kingdom of God, the

brotherhood of man, the reign of peace and goodwill, upon the earth! How great is the need that a new class of prophets shall arise to restore the Church to its appointed task "of reconstituting all human relations in accordance with the will of God"!

We need to-day a new reformation, which shall rouse the Church again from slothful ease and corrupt content, and awaken it to the crying needs of men. We need to-day another Martin Luther, who shall interpret the Christian gospel in our day in terms of society, as Luther interpreted it in his day in terms of the individual. We need a new baptism of the spirit, that God's Kingdom may at last come, and God's will at last be done on earth. It is for this new reformation I am looking—it is for the words of this new prophet I am listening—it is for this new baptism of the spirit I am waiting. I, for one, believe this new age is at last at hand. Everywhere are the ministers of all confessions arousing to a sense of their social responsibilities—everywhere are churches of all denominations awakening to a consciousness of their duty to the life that now is. Brave words are being spoken in many pulpits, efficient work is being done by many ecclesiastical organizations. In no direction perhaps is the change in the attitude of the churches so remarkable as in the direction of child labor reform, where the ignorance and indifference of a decade ago are slowly changing into an active and united crusade against iniquity. Much work must still be done. Many ministers must suffer martyrdom—many churches must undergo dissension. But the new reformation is here, and the Church slowly but surely must give itself to the redemption of humanity, else must it wholly perish. "If I thought," said Theodore Parker, at the opening of his immortal Boston ministry, "the Church were to do nothing for social redemption, then would I never enter her portals but once again, and then to bow my shoulders to their manliest work—to heave down its strong pillars, arch and dome and roof and wall, steeple and tower, though like Samson, I buried myself under the ruins of that temple which profaned the worship of God most high. I would do this in the name of man; in the name of Christ, I would do it; yes, in the dear and blessed name of God." Unless the signs of the times wholly deceive us, such an assault upon an apostate Church need never come. For the Church, after long centuries of "failure" will yet hear the cry of outraged humanity, and do the work it was appointed to do for the Kingdom of Almighty God.

IV. INADEQUATE SCHOOLS

BY EVERETT W. LORD,

Secretary for New England, National Child Labor Committee.

In referring to our schools as "inadequate," I do not wish to be understood as condemning them. The schools of this land have done a great work. They have provided the one great democratic institution which has enabled the nation to retain its democratic standards; they have molded the manhood and womanhood of America as could no other public institution; they have drawn together the heterogeneous elements poured from every side into this land and made of them a compact nation; yet few will deny that our schools have failed to sustain the entire burden which has been placed upon them. It may be that this burden is greater than should have been imposed; it may be very truly said that much of the responsibility now placed upon the schools properly belongs to the parents. Be that as it may, by common consent an immense task has been given to the schools to-day, and the schools, good as they are, have not proved entirely equal to it. We fully realize this when we find it true that one-third the young people who go to our schools fail to reach even the eighth grade, which ought to be the first milestone; that five millions out of sixteen millions enrolled drop out and disappear each year, we must recognize the fact that there is something wrong with the schools somewhere, some inadequate feature.

We have learned this morning a good deal about the subject of vocational direction. I believe our schools must undertake something more than the mere literary training they have been giving our children; that they must undertake something in the way of industrial training and vocational direction; perhaps that they shall undertake to prepare something like the standard laboring child, about which Mrs. Kelley has spoken to-night; not that the programs of the schools shall necessarily be standardized, but that they be recast and made to fit more exactly the standards of social and industrial life. The school of the present time is simply an outgrowth of

the school of the past, and remains distinctly a literary institution. The school of old was planned for children who had a great deal of manual work to do in the home; it gave them a little literary training which was what they most needed to round out their lives. These children needed no hand-training under the direction of a teacher, because their parents saw to it that their hands were trained in the many tasks of the home. Modern conditions have so changed that children are no longer employed in manual labor in their home, but still at school they get practically the same kind of training that the old school gave, though parents have of necessity ceased to train the child in any form of manual work. Few schools have undertaken to supply this need.

The old school was independent. The common school of to-day is part of a great educational system beginning with the kindergarten and extending on through the high school and the college to the university. The old independent school gave to its attendants the direct training they needed in their lives. Two or three years' attendance was about as much as the average boy could expect, but in that two or three years he would get the exact kind of training most needed to supplement his industrial life. The new schools, being part of a great system, give little thought to the immediate needs of the boys and girls who have only a few years for school attendance. Their attempt is to train for the upper grades and the higher schools of the system. But four out of a hundred of the children who attend our common schools go on through the entire system to the college or university; these four out of the hundred are the only ones who get the real value of our common schools. The ninety-six who would drop out on the way not only get less than the full value of the schools, but their needs are given almost no consideration. I maintain that it is for us to find some way to fit our schools to meet the needs of that vast majority who do not get the benefit of the entire system. I believe the problem of child labor is largely a school problem, just as every problem of childhood is a school problem, and when our schools shall reach out and give practical help to every child, not alone to four in a hundred, this problem of child labor will be largely solved. Until that time I feel very sure we are justified in classing the inadequate school of the present as one of the forces antagonistic to child-labor reform.

JUSTICE TO THE CHILD

BY DR. STEPHEN S. WISE,
Rabbi of the Free Synagogue, New York.

In no place in America would it be more fitting to raise one's voice against the evils and wrongs of child labor than in Faneuil Hall. The very air of this place is redolent of freedom. Seeing that "The Cry of the Children" has not been heard, it is meet that we here cry out, on behalf of the children, in protest against the iniquity of the enslavement of the child, which, if anything, is even more unjust and iniquitous than the enslavement of man.

The inclusive and undeniable right of children is to childhood; that is, to the life of a child. Not to labor is implicit in every right of the child. The term child labor is a paradox, for when labor begins in the modern industrial sense of that term, the child ceases to be. The child that labors is robbed of its childhood—is no child.

It is one of the many paradoxes of our social order that we face two parallel and related evils, child labor on the one hand and widespread unemployment on the other. Two tragic and irreconcilable spectacles confront us; first, the unemployed man who has a right to work, and, second, the employed child, who has the right not to work. In justice to its citizenship, and in self-defense, the state ought to deal in wise and statesmanlike fashion with both problems. Unemployment entails hardship, misery, deterioration upon the unemployed, the consequences of which things endure through many generations to the hurt of the state. Child labor kills its victims or it cripples and maims the unborn children of its survivors.

The new world for the child was born amid the industrial conditions of the nineteenth century, which overwhelmed the child with tasks and burdens never before borne by it. The newer world, which is to follow upon the childhood-endangering epoch of the industrial awakening, is to shield and defend the child. The new world surrounded the child with an environment to meet which the newer world must fortify the child, that it may triumph. The new world meant an age of children's wrongs and children's rights; the newer world presages the righting of children's wrongs.

The keynote of the newer world's attitude to the child will be thoroughness, which means enlightened and efficient justice. The state will put away the uncertain and tinkering methods, which it has heretofore employed in dealing with the child. England has introduced a system of old-age pensions, which is peculiarly revolting to those who have never been distressed by the spectacle of men thrown to the ash heap after twenty or thirty or forty years of faithful service in the industrial army.

Some day a wisely far-seeing state will introduce a system of child pensions or child bounties. Under present economic conditions, child labor cannot be prevented by laws—even when loosely drawn and lightly enforced. In the event of the breadwinner of the family being lost through death or desertion, the state ought to allow the needed subsidy to the home, that the child may be kept in school or in the home and kept away from industry. Through what might be called child pensions, which would really be home pensions, the state can prevent child labor and maintain the integrity of the home of the widow or deserted wife. In its desire to be thorough, the state will refuse to accept orphan asylums as inevitable homes for ever-increasing multitudes of children. Orphanhood will not long be tolerated as an incident of industrialism. The state must do everything that lies within its power in order to protect children, not by placing them in orphan asylums, but in sheltering them from orphan asylums by stopping the needless slaughter of fathers in shop and factory and mine. Let our societies for the prevention of cruelty to children deal not only with the occasional cruelty of a father to his child, but with that nation-wide cruelty which robs the child of its father! Before the care of the orphaned child must come such care on the part of the state as shall safeguard the life and health of the men "who are carrying us on their backs".

Child labor is a national question, not sectional nor even predominantly Southern. When Sumner was told that slavery was sectional, he replied that while slavery might be sectional, freedom was national. This epigram must be reversed with regard to the labor of women and children; industry is national, but protection is sectional. Even if it were true that no child labor is to be found in the North, and that it abounds only in the South, the North is still more culpable than the South, though the South seem to invite child labor.

The South is in a measure the victim of circumstances. Southern industrialism is still in its beginning, and the South has naturally yielded to the terrible pressure of northern temptation. The tempting and oppressing capital of the North is far more guilty than the tempted capital-lacking Southland. Child labor is, legislatively speaking, under control in New York and New England, but northern capital is not under control. For northern capital has made a way for itself, has built child labor mills in the South, and while seeming to enrich its present, is impoverishing and damning the South's future. Northern capital is guilty of southern child labor—guilty of what Professor Ross has called long-distance or wireless sin—for the northern capitalist gets his dividends from southern child-labor products, though divided by a thousand miles and more from his little victims. The South is becoming, alas, a dumping ground for northern capital. The South demands the acquiescence of the North in its political methods and social-industrial ideals, and the North is unconsciously taking its revenge in crushing out the lives of the little children of the Southern States.

It is not impossible to awaken the conscience of men of affairs so that they shall be moved to refuse to have part either directly or indirectly in social wrongdoing. It is heartening to be able to refer to the English and Continental firms which have taken the position of refusing to purchase cocoa from the establishments of St. Thome and Principe, Portuguese islands off the west coast of Africa, because upon investigation it was proved that the cocoa of these islands represents the work of negroes, who have been forcibly enslaved in the Portuguese possessions in Africa. The largest manufacturing establishment of its kind in this country, stationed not very far from here, has similarly taken the high position that it will not handle the products of what is nominally contract, but actually slave, labor. If industrial establishments are ready to refuse to handle the products of child labor, is it not possible to foster and stimulate the sentiment that men and women, and perhaps especially women, shall refuse to purchase the products of child labor, which is always, as we have said, child slavery? It may not be possible to invoke interstate law against the products of child labor, but it is possible to inaugurate a moral movement that shall pledge men and women to avoid touching the products of child labor.

With what ability and assiduity the Consolidated Gas Com-

pany of New York fought the legislation which provided for a reduction in the cost of gas to the consumer! According to newspaper statements, more than a million dollars has been expended in opposing this legislation and carrying it to the highest courts. When will the forces leading the war upon child labor be endowed with one million dollars in order to fight this evil as effectively? In dealing with the problem of child labor, we are reminded all the time that state rights are sacred and inviolable, that property rights are sacred and inviolable. One is tempted to ask—when will the rights of childhood come to be regarded as sacred and inviolable? Child labor is preventable or it is not. If it be not preventable, then is the present order bankrupt; if it be preventable, as it is, then, pending its prevention, we are morally bankrupt who endure it.

An amazing revelation touching the hopelessness of political or strictly legislative help in the matter of bettering child labor conditions came to light recently in a New York court. There it was shown that the agent of a candidate for President, with millions rather than of the millions, wrote to the man who had been hired to grind out statesmanlike utterances for the candidate, "I cut that factory thing out. The South is against child labor, but objects to legislation on it." This attitude of objection to child labor but of unwillingness withal to remedy it through the processes of legislation is not unlike the position of the man in Maine who said that he was for prohibition but against its enforcement. Alas, that we may not expect too much through legislative intervention and relief. The ends of justice are too often defeated by means of the law, and, it might be added, the meanness of law officers. The high aims of justice are often circumvented and defeated by the technicalities of legal procedure. It was Lord Melbourne who said: "Do not touch the church; it's the last great bulwark against Christianity." Almost might the defenders of child labor say: "Do not touch the law; it's the last great bulwark against justice."

The child labor warfare is not one of a multitude of tasks for the social reformer. It is not something over and around which men are to "committee", but a high and exigent cause to which men are to be committed. On the one hand, the National Child Labor Committee can do little or nothing without the united support of the people's conscience and the people's will; on the other hand, the National Child Labor Committee ought to inspire and

direct public revolt against this iniquity of iniquities. The child labor crusade is a vital thing because child labor can do the Republic fatal hurt. The church ought to have not one child labor Sunday, but fifty-two child labor Sundays in the year, even as the church is not to preach *at* the workingman one day in the year, but *for* the workingman every day in the year. Time was when the founder of Christianity said: "Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Time is when those who are causing Christianity to founder may say: "Little children are to come to us that they may suffer, for theirs shall be the tortures of hell."

Child labor is to be fought positively and constructively and not merely negatively and obstructively. Child labor is to be overcome by better schools and compulsory school laws that are honestly and diligently enforced. Child labor is to be fought by the industrial school that is coming into being, but the industrial school that is to be must be under state control lest it become a scab nursery, a kindergarten for strike-breakers, an adjunct of citizens' alliances which sometimes seem to be alliances to break down the citizenship of the nation.

Child labor is to be immediately repressed and ultimately suppressed that justice may be done to the child. President Roosevelt once said that we could not afford to neglect the children—to which we add that we would not neglect the children even if we could afford to do so. Child labor ought to be abolished not so much at the behest of the duty of safeguarding the Republic, but rather because of the duty of the Republic to safeguard its children. The child labor battle should be waged on the highest possible ground—the right of the child to justice. At the same time, to avert the terrible evils which are sure to follow upon the criminal wastefulness of child labor is the part of high and enlightened statesmanship. We are beginning to plan for the conservation of our national resources. Let us conserve our most precious national resource, the life and joy of childhood. An impaired childhood and a maimed youth mean a marred state.

Science may cry—save the child for the sake of the future; religion—for the sake of God; education—for the sake of the people; democracy—for the sake of the State; industry—for the sake of efficiency. Conscience cries—save the child for its own

sake. For the child is not only the trustee of the past and the hope of the future, but it is the living present, entitled to every protection and security and furtherance which man grants to man and as much more than is granted to man as is required by the defenselessness of the child.

Our democracy ought to lead the world in the things that make for democracy and not in the things that make against democracy, such as big armies and bigger navies. About twenty million dollars will be expended upon the two additional battleships voted by the late Congress, and these will be dead junk within ten or fifteen years. Viewing the present annual income of the National Child Labor Committee, no such resources will be at its command within two hundred years, though child labor be a real and terrible peril and the yellow peril largely the figment of a jaundiced and diseased vision. Let us imitate England not in Dreadnought building, but in fearless safeguarding of our children's rights.

If it be said that anti-child labor legislation savors of paternalism, let it be answered that the state ought to show a paternal "concern for the safety and defense of the industrial workers". Socrates said: "Our country is to be loved more and better by far than father or mother." If we love the state as a mother, then should the state dare to mother its wronged children toilers. "Every man possesses the right to legislate for himself"—is dinned into our ears. Does every woman possess the power to legislate for herself? Does every child possess the power to legislate for itself? Surely a democracy owes a special duty to its unenfranchised children and its disfranchised women. The state ought to paternalize; at present it step-paternalizes. The hand that wrecks the cradle wrecks the world. What of a nation that suffers both to be wrecked—the cradle-child and the mother-hand? The state has not hesitated to protect infant industries, and rather big and lusty infants they are, according to the recent admission of one of the chief beneficiaries. That was the wrong kind of paternalism. Now let us have the right kind of paternalism, which shall not protect infant industries, but shall protect infants from industry.

How carefully we would guard ourselves against the dread possibility of any goods being shipped from the South if any section of the Southland should be afflicted by a visitation of yellow fever. Shall we be less alert to protect not only ourselves but the nation

against the deadly effect of moral disease, a symptom of which is to be found in the evil of child labor? The state promptly intervenes when a plague strikes any section of the land, though plagues usually die out with the coming of the winter months. Little is then said in defense of state rights, for the nation's health and security are at stake. Child labor is a plague that smites its immediate victims and strikes at the heart of the whole nation twelve months in the year. It is a problem of the nation and by the nation, a problem to be met with courage and wisdom and prevision.

Democracy and religion must unite for the protection of the child. In a monarchy men are subject to the king's will. In a democracy the child ought to be an object of the government's concern. The church of yesterday persists in childish rites; the church of to-morrow will insist upon the rights of the child. This is the children's hour—between the dark and the daylight—the darkness of the children's wrongs that is passing, and the daylight of children's rights that is dawning.

Upon hearing that the anti-slavery resolutions of Stephen Phillips had been rejected by the Whig Convention in Faneuil Hall, in 1846, Whittier spoke out in earnest and unmistakable terms against the shame of this place:

"Tell us not of banks and tariffs, cease your paltry peddler cries;
Shall the good state sink her honor that your gambling stocks may rise?
Would ye barter men for cotton, that your gains may sum up higher?
Must we kiss the feet of Moloch, pass our children through the fire?
Is the dollar only real? God and truth and right a dream?
Weighed against your lying ledgers must our manhood kick the beam?"

To-day, after the lapse of sixty years, we appeal to the conscience of the manhood and womanhood of the nation, and again we ask whether our children are to be passed through the fire, whether weighed against lying ledgers, the childhood of our children must kick the beam. Let us have no fear for the answer of the American democracy.

CHILDREN IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

By JOHN GOLDEN,
President, United Textile Workers of America.

It is particularly gratifying to the trades unionist to see the present great interest in the child labor question in comparison with that of only a few years ago: an interest seen in thousands of earnest men and women in practically all walks of life. No better proof is needed than this splendid gathering to-day; a gathering of men and women whose only thought is the welfare of the child; whose only hope is the total elimination of child labor. That many thousands of children, many of them of very tender age, are working in the textile industry cannot be questioned; that this evil is not confined to any one state, or any particular part of the country, can be easily proven; consequently there are in my opinion only two issues that really confront us—namely, to find out exactly to what extent children are employed, to be in a position to realize the task before us, then try to find an effective remedy for the evil. A federal investigation is now under way, and, if carried to the very foundation, which I have every reason to believe it will be, I venture to predict it will show more startling figures than the census of 1900, when the public first awoke to the fact that what the labor unions had been fighting against, both as regards women wage-workers and child laborers, was in reality a national evil, becoming more alarming every year.

Child labor is employed simply because it is cheap and unresisting. There is never any danger of the child workers organizing, either among themselves or as a trade union, for the purpose of securing better conditions or higher wages. There are many occupations in a textile factory wherein it is cheaper to have two children working for three dollars or less per week than to employ one full-grown man or woman at a decent wage.

Child workers have been in the textile industry ever since machinery was introduced in the mills. They have grown in number as the industry expanded, and it is bound to be a tremendous task to eliminate them from it. The distinguished specialist in hook-

worm diseases will tell you that he has investigated the cotton mill and the unsanitary farm, and that between the two, providing he had to make a choice, he would prefer to put his ten-year-old daughter in the mill. I am inclined to believe that if this same distinguished scientist were forced to make such a choice through poverty caused by the fact that, as a wage-worker he was not earning sufficient to keep body and soul together, he would be at my side on this platform advocating the abolition of child labor, and working shoulder to shoulder with me on the labor platform in an effort to secure a higher wage standard for him who ought to be the breadwinner of the family.

In the South

About six years ago I visited Macon, Ga., among other places in the South. A man who held a position in one of the mills took me around to talk with some of the people in their homes. I have a vivid recollection of one widow who, with tears coursing down her pale cheeks, related the story of how they had been induced to leave their little farm, and her husband to take a position in the mill. "Yes," she murmured, "we were poor in a way, but we had enough to eat and wear; we had the fresh air and the sunshine. Our three little ones were healthy and robust. My husband had not been long in the card room of the cotton mill before he began to weaken and fail. Five years from the time he left his farm he was laid in a consumptive's grave." Just then two young girls entered the home. The mother said one was thirteen and the other eleven; that the elder went to work soon after they arrived in Macon; the younger girl had been working about two years. This girl corrected this latter statement by saying: "No, ma, it is two years and two months since I commenced to work." Neither girl appeared very strong, the elder especially. I could not help but think that all might have been better off had they remained on the farm, and that the father's lungs might have lasted longer up there than in the dust-ridden atmosphere of the carding room of a cotton mill, working for a wage that prevented his getting that sustenance which might have prolonged his life, and forced him to send his children to work that their meagre earnings might help them to live. How often has this same drama been enacted in the textile worker's home both North and South!

Wages in Maine

Three years ago I visited a mill city in Maine, where a dispute, started in one of the departments of the mill, had spread until all the operatives came out on strike. When I arrived a meeting was being held in one of the halls. Eighty per cent of those present were French Canadians, composed of men, women and children of almost all ages. They commenced to show me their envelopes just received from the mill. The older people's envelopes read something like this: "John Smith, \$5.40, forfeited \$5.40, balance, nil." I discovered that a rule was in force at the mill whereby every employee, man, woman or child, had to sign an agreement before they could secure employment, agreeing to forfeit a week's wages if they absented themselves from work without permission, or, as the supposed contract read, without a reasonable excuse.

The women then commenced to show me their children's pay envelopes. I found that even the child workers had not been spared. I asked the parents the ages of the children whose pay had been forfeited, and took notes. Of nineteen children, fourteen were under twelve; three under eleven; two under ten years of age. This occurred in a New England state. I have not singled out Maine for any special reason. The same condition can be duplicated to-day in many New England towns and cities where textile factories exist. We have laws which prohibit all this, and we have some very stringent laws so far as they read; but the trouble is they are not enforced. Imagine one factory inspector for the whole State of Maine responsible to no one but the governor of the state. Even the labor commissioner has no control over the office whatever. In fact, from what was reported to me a few months ago, from a very reliable source, the labor commissioner and the factory inspector are scarcely on speaking terms. I ask any of you to go out among the textile workers, either the organized or the unorganized, of any New England state, ask them to what extent they are protected by factory inspection, ask them how rigidly the labor laws on the statute books—placed there after years of struggle of the labor unions—are enforced, and I will warrant that ninety-five per cent. will tell you that factory inspectors are a joke, and that factory inspection is a farce.

During the past two weeks a protest has gone forth from several well organized cities, both in Massachusetts and Rhode Island,

relative to the cribbing of time by many corporations, who, because a fifty-six-hour law had gone into effect in these two states on the first of January, were endeavoring to run as close to the old schedule as possible, in spite of the fact that in many instances the day help had been compelled to accept a reduction in their already meager wages equivalent to two hour's work.

Federal Children's Bureau

I am firmly of the opinion that the evil of child labor is so far-reaching that it is the duty of the federal government to take hold of the problem; that a children's bureau is an actual necessity. I am convinced after many years of experience and rubbing shoulders with this evil in all its intensity, that no matter what laws you enact many of the states cannot enforce them; others will not try.

Cause of Child Labor

There is more in this great child labor question than appears on the surface. In digging down to discover the effects upon the child worker we must also dig deeply to find the causes for its existence. There are thousands of fathers in every part of this land where textile mills exist who to-day are watching the color fade from the cheeks of their girls standing at the loom or the spinning frame ten long hours a day. There are thousands of weary mothers, working side by side with their husbands, who have left little ones at home, some still with the child unborn. Why are they there? Is it because they wish to have those little ones unguarded and unprotected? After you have asked yourself these questions reflect for a moment on the increased cost of living, then consider the fact that according to federal statistics the average wage of a textile worker is a few cents over six dollars per week. There I believe you will find the answer. Let us devise some means whereby the adult textile worker, especially the supporter of a home, will receive a wage equal to our American ideals. You will find few parents, whether rich or poor, who are not imbued with the same keen desire to see their boy make good, to see their girl grow up into beautiful womanhood. The utilitarian phase of this great question has been lost sight of to a great extent when dealing with child labor.

I hope to see the day when no child under sixteen years of age

will be forced to leave school. I long for the day when men will be the breadwinners of the family; when in great industries like the textile industry no one man who neither toils nor spins will reap millions out of it by pernicious gambling; when no stockholders will stretch forth their hands for dividends out of all proportion to the capital invested, while thousands of others are living on a miserable average wage of a dollar a day. The trade unions, assailed and maligned as they are, have this ideal in mind. We have for years been trying to reach this goal. We shall continue until the fight is won. I now seem to see a silver lining in the industrial horizon. Whether we are capitalists or laborers, whether labor unionists or anti-labor unionists, as Christian men and women we know that child labor has no right to exist; that wherever the fault lies or whoever is responsible, the child at least is innocent. If there is any industry, be it ever so great, that cannot survive without exploiting the child let it go from our midst; we are better without it. The money gained from such a source is worse than blood money, and cannot bring either happiness or contentment to any one. I cannot help but feel that with the forces now at work on this great question a solution must be near.

Your National Child Labor Committee has done noble work in the past; your possibilities for the future are still greater. Not until the last child is taken from the mill, the mine and the workshop and placed in the school and the playground, will your work be accomplished. You have had many obstacles to overcome; you will have others to contend with. Your most ardent workers will be glibed with the term "faddist", "alarmist", "yellow journalist", etc., just as the trade unionist has been assailed as "agitator", "disturber", and "grafter", but in spite of all this the crusade against this evil, which, if left alone, will sap the very life's blood from our republic, must go on and on. It is from such gatherings as these, of men and women in all walks of life ready to join hands in one great movement, that the child may remain a child as God intended, that men and women shall do the world's work; it is from such sources the education and the solution will finally come. The public conscience is aroused as never before to the necessity of abolishing this grave evil. The mental and physical development of the child means a more intelligent, a more moral, and a better generation of men and women.

THE COTTON MILL A FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH

BY MRS. J. BORDEN HARRIMAN,
Chairman Welfare Committee, National Civic Federation, New York.

Being deeply interested in welfare work, defined by the National Civic Federation as "the *voluntary* effort of an employer to better the working and living conditions of the employees". I have made, during the last year, a special study from personal observation of examples existing in mill towns in New England and our Southern States. Through this investigation I have become more or less familiar with the cotton industry as a whole.

The sociologist tells us that civilization is brought about by the contact of individuals one with another, permitting of communication, companionship and mutual aid; and to quote from an eminent professor at Columbia University: "These are ensured by the unequal distribution of food supplies, the varying degrees of temperature and moisture, the topography and other physical circumstances making life in some places easier than in others." We may assume, then, that any industry which gathers together in communities numbers of persons who have previously led restricted, isolated lives is a factor in the civilization of the country where it is found.

Those familiar with the history of cotton manufacturing in New England tell us that the first impetus toward uplifting the social status of the working people of that section was given by the cotton factory. If such has been the case in New England, more especially has it been so in the South, with this added advantage: that whereas in New England the factories are for the most part grouped in a few large cities where the tendency toward over-population produces unpleasant conditions, in the South they are distributed through a large number of small towns, ranging in size and importance from the town of one cotton mill with 150 to 200 operatives—and probably no other manufacturing enterprise in the locality—to the city of ten or a dozen cotton factories employing several thousand wage-earners who live in settlements surrounding the mills.

Recent Development

Broadly speaking, there was no such industry as cotton manufacturing before the Civil War, with the exception of a few scattered, ill-equipped factories, and the industry has only reached its present gigantic importance through a growth that has taken place since 1880.

Now what of the operatives who have made this industry possible? From where and what do they come? Before the war the white population of the Southern States was composed of two classes—the owners of valuable and productive plantations, which they cultivated by slave labor, and that unfortunate class familiarly called “poor whites”, generally illiterate, immoral and indifferent, who worked out a precarious existence on some unproductive bit of land or barren mountainside.

This latter class was augmented after the close of the war by families who had lost everything, and, never having had to work, were without any capacity for it.

Poor Whites

These “poor whites”, broken in spirit or without ambition if of the class that had always been poor, finding that they could not hold their own unless they moved away from the populous sections, isolated themselves in the mountain districts of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee, where there were no schools, no churches, no railroads. Here they built of logs, houses consisting of one room, or at most two, with mud-stopped chinks and almost invariably a mud floor, where the family, two or a dozen in number, all slept in one room.

Surrounded by such environment, living lonely lives, without opportunity of communication with any other life, far from the influence of men of larger intellect and broader experience, with scanty food, morals increasingly lax, and without regard for laws of state or nation, their condition was at least lamentable. Many became engaged in “blockading”—that is, making and selling liquors without license, cheating the government of revenue. And the tendency was for a lower social condition each year, and with each generation, until this class of people seemed nearly hopeless.

How long ago were these conditions to be found? Within twenty-five years. Within the last dozen years. In some parts to-

day as I have seen with my own eyes. It is safe to say that of the 110,000 operatives now employed in the manufacture of cotton goods in the South fully three-quarters, or 80,000, came from families who twenty years ago were poverty-stricken agriculturists. I have seen these people arrive at the mill door with all their worldly goods stowed away in one farm wagon drawn by dilapidated mules borrowed from a not too-distant neighbor, having driven perhaps forty miles, and sometimes having to ask immediately for money in advance from the superintendent of the mill in order to buy food.

Welfare Work

What are the living conditions they find in these mill villages? Generally they have good, new houses of from four to six rooms each; kindergartens, schools, churches, and frequently club-houses, and in the more advanced villages the mill companies support a welfare worker and sometimes a trained nurse. At one mill town in South Carolina I saw as complete and modern a little emergency hospital as one could wish for anywhere. Others have since been built. In every mill village of any importance in either North or South Carolina or Virginia I found some sort of welfare work for both elders and children. I cannot believe that anywhere is there a finer spirit or stronger wish to uplift the weaker classes than among some Southern mill owners. And all of them are ably seconded by the women of their families.

The first generation of operatives coming from conditions above described brought fingers so stiffened, hands so hardened by toil as to be totally unfit for handling the soft, unspun cotton; it followed that the children, with still supple fingers, were pressed into service as spinners.

I wish to point out the significant fact that the second generation is awakening to the importance of sending its children to school and keeping them out of the mills during their tender years. Furthermore, in many cases children in the mills are there through the exigencies of peculiar circumstances.

Progressive manufacturers are seeing the fallacy of child labor. Now, no one of any humanity, especially no mother, can see a little child at work in a mill, with all that this may mean, without a feeling of horror and indignation. No circumstances make child labor right. But child labor is one phase in the evolution of the Southern cotton industry. And it is surely passing.

Even in our natural abhorrence of its existence under any conditions we must try not to lose sight of the picture as a whole, but believe that there are some extenuating circumstances on the side of the Southern manufacturers, who, by the resumption of the cotton industry at the close of the reconstruction period, in a measure, came to the rescue of the masses of the South, who, as I have pointed out, were reduced to the depths of poverty and ignorance.

A Plea for Co-operation

Is it not possible in these days when a spirit of co-operation is taking the place of hostility to show a man gently wherein he is in error rather than to arouse his antagonism by seemingly condemning him without a hearing? There is nothing like getting two people of adverse opinions face to face to break down their opposition. And, oh! how far we can influence if we try in a spirit of love! Love is the universal solvent!

A writer of fiction tells of a party at a haunted country house, where the ghost visited each guest in turn; and each one in relating his manner of receiving it and the impression made upon him unwittingly bore evidence of his own gospel. There was the professor who tried scientifically to explain away its existence; the clergyman who sought to banish the fear aroused by it, to quiet some torturing suspicion, by murmuring to himself familiar verses of prayer and psalm; there were the women who became hysterical. Each and all of the half-dozen people to whom the nocturnal visitor first appeared retreated in dread and were sensible only of their own feelings at sight of the apparition. Not one had a pitiful thought for it. But lastly it came to a woman who wondered if the poor, restless spirit had not come to make some request; if it were in pain and longed for relief, or sinful and strove for forgiveness. How dreadful then that other beings should flee from it instead of meeting it resolutely and kindly. So she prayed for strength to forget any selfish fears and try only to know the spirit's need. As she prayed the foolish shrinking dread seemed to pass away. Her heart overflowed with love toward everything in the world. She took the poor, cold spirit into her arms, pressing it to her breast, comforting it. And the spirit, which had only been yearning for some one to understand, to sympathize, grew warm in her embrace and whis-

peared: "It is enough. I shall be no longer lonely. For now I know what God is." And it went away happy and in peace.

It seems to me that more than one of our social specters might be laid if we would approach them in the desire for helpfulness and in the spirit of brotherly love.

THE MILL OR THE FARM?

By A. J. McKELWAY,

Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee.

Perhaps the photographs which I shall presently show you of the children at work in Southern mills, the general appearance and especially the size of the children, will be the best reply to the paper you have just heard from Mrs. Harriman. However, I wish to take direct issue with regard to several statements.

It is impossible for any one, however gifted, by making one or two brief tours through the Southern cotton mills to gain a correct impression. The National Child Labor Committee with its careful, systematic and photographic investigations, has had to contend with two types of tourists; on the one hand, those who wish to find a market in the magazines for sensational stories concerning the evils of child slavery and the cruelties practiced upon the children of the cotton mills; on the other hand, those especially interested in welfare work, who, therefore, naturally visit the few mills in which such work is being conducted, and, unintentionally absorbing the views of the manufacturers, end with what is practically a defense of child labor. I am so familiar with the views of some of these manufacturers that I might almost give the names of the gentlemen who have given Mrs. Harriman her impressions concerning the people of the South. However, I think some of them would say that she has gone too far in her description of the contrast between agricultural conditions and mill conditions in the South.

"Poor Whites"

The speaker's whole perspective is at fault. For example, she divides the whole white population of the South before the war into two classes, the rich slave owners and the poor whites, who are further described as "illiterate, immoral and indifferent." She says that this class of "poor whites" was increased in number by the families who had lost everything by the Civil War and were unable to work for a living, and that these "poor whites", after the war, moved away from the populous sections into the mountain districts,

where there were no schools, no churches and no railroads. This was a serious indictment of practically a whole people. Did any one ever know a society composed of several million white people of Anglo-Saxon stock sharply divided into two classes, the very rich and the very poor, the latter being illiterate, immoral and indifferent?

There were all classes of society represented among the slave owners themselves, as well as among the non-slave holders. It was only the lowest element among the white people to whom the slaves themselves felt superior that were called "poor white trash". The great mass of the Southern people did not own slaves.

The sons of the slave owners did not hesitate to enroll in the Confederate armies, but the non-slave-holding class made up the rank and file of those armies, whose prowess during four long years is the historic answer to the charge that they were illiterate, immoral and indifferent.

The speaker's theory of the settlement of the mountain regions of the South is unique. She says that the original "poor whites" of the South, recruited by the broken-spirited, following the results of the war, found that they could not make a living in the populous sections and moved to the mountains. This should have certainly populated the mountains, for it would have meant the emigration of at least five-sixths of the white people, who belonged to the non-slave-holding class. So far as my own memory and experience recall, we were all "poor whites" after the war. Those who were not were under suspicion of having sacrificed too little for the Southern cause.

Early Settlers

I was under the impression that the mountain regions had been settled before the Civil War, even before the Revolutionary War. I have a dim recollection that it was the mountain folk of the Watauga that won the battle at King's Mountain and saved the Revolutionary cause when it was at its lowest ebb. To say that there were no schools and no churches, even before the Civil War, in the mountain regions, is a palpable error. To imagine that in the Appalachian system, from northern Virginia to Alabama, there were only one- or two-room houses, with mud floors, is to display an ignorance as vast as the mountain region itself.

There has been so much talk about the superior conditions of

the people of the mills compared with their former miserable lot, that I wish to make this defense of the people of the rural regions here and now. The cotton mills are set forth in this paper as the savior of these people, religiously, educationally, and, according to Dr. Stiles, physically. It may be mentioned, in passing, that this is the last stand of the cotton manufacturers against our reform. First they said that child labor was a good thing in itself; then they shifted to the ground that it was a bad thing, but that there was very little of it left; being driven from that position by the overwhelming array of facts presented, they have said that at least the condition of the people was improved by their transportation from the farms to the mills.

Illiteracy

The trouble is that there were not enough mills for this supposed work of civilization. Mississippi has about twenty cotton mills, Louisiana, but three or four. According to this theory the white population of these two states must be in a deplorable condition indeed. Yet we find that the white illiteracy in Mississippi, for example, is much less than it is in the cotton mill states. Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee have a few cotton mills, but these could hardly have had any effect, even if they were the beneficent agency they are so often represented to be, in saving the white population of these states from their alleged degradation, illiteracy and immorality. As to the effectiveness of the cotton mills in checking illiteracy, it seems rather singular that the illiteracy of the children of the cotton mill families of North and South Carolina and Georgia is three to four times as great, according to the last census, as the illiteracy of the white children of these states at large.

Every student of Southern history after the war knows that the whole white population was impoverished; that our people had to begin at the bottom and build up their civilization anew. And there are some students of history who think that their success against the peculiar obstacles that confronted them is the proudest chapter in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. To say that any large percentage of this population is immoral and indifferent, or degenerate, as Dr. Stiles would have us believe, is absurd on the face of it. And I beg leave to say to the cotton manufacturers, who are really responsible for the promulgation of such views as those just

expressed, that they are guilty of slandering their own people in these wholesale accusations, for the poor cause of excusing themselves for employing children. Even if there were any force in their contention that the people as a whole are better off in the mills than on the farms, that contention does not touch the heart of the question, which is: whether the children in the mills are better off when they are protected by law from premature toil, or are better off when the fullest exploitation of their labor is permitted. It is not whether the children are better off than they were, but whether they are as well off as we have a right to expect and demand now.

Nimble Fingers

The theory as to how the children happened to be employed in the cotton mills, namely, that the fingers of the adults were so stiffened and their hands so hardened by toil that they were unfit for work, ignores the whole history of the cotton-mill industry,—two hundred years of it in England and one hundred years of it in America. It was not an accident that the children were employed. There was a demand for their labor from the very nature of the industry. It was not that the adults of the family could not work; it was that the children could work profitably and, of course, at lower wages. As I have elsewhere pointed out, the Southern manufacturer simply copied the system he found in New England and bought machinery adapted to child labor just as the New England manufacturer had done when he copied the system and machinery of Old England.

Employing Sick Children

The argument in Dr. Stiles' contention that child labor itself is a blessing, in attracting people from the soil-polluted farms to the better sanitary conditions of the mills, is a fallacy on the face of it. If such a large percentage of the factory children are afflicted with hookworm, it is, in the first place, probable that the disease has been aggravated by the long hours of toil for the children in the mills; and, in the second place, it is certain that children whose systems have already been debilitated by such a disease should be prohibited by law from the known consequences of too early toil. That the mills can run with a fourteen-year-age limit has been amply proved

by the history of New England; that they can run at a profit is proved by the annual distribution of dividends in New England.

With regard to this whole question of welfare work, it should not be regarded as an atonement for the employment of children; in fact, it may be shown, logically, that the system of child labor compels the adoption of the welfare system through the lowering of the wage scale and the helplessness of the workers which makes them dependent upon the voluntary efforts of the employer to better their condition, instead of being in a position where they can demand a fair distribution of the rewards of industry themselves. After all, we must remember that the hospitals, schools, gymnasiums and churches of the few mills we have heard so much about are built by the dividends, sometimes unnaturally large, which have come to the cotton-mill owners through the system of cheap labor they have employed, and that, if there were a fairer ratio of dividends to wages, the people could do for themselves that which is now done for them by the mill owners out of the rewards of their industry.

I have lived in the mountains of North Carolina for the summer months for the past five years. I have seen some families that had returned from the mills and were glad to get back. I know that the sentiment throughout the mountain regions, among those who have remained, is that it is a calamity for a family to move to the mills.

I am not a physician and am not skilled in the diagnosis of parasitic diseases, but I believe it to be common sense that the natural vigor of the human system is the best protection against diseases of any kind. And I give it as my opinion that the most vigorous race of people in America to-day, judging by their appearance, is the race of mountaineers living in the mountains of North Carolina and I presume in the mountain regions of the other Southern States. While there are, of course, here and there isolated sections where school and church privileges are few, yet within the last two decades there have been left but few such places on the map. Nor are our tenant farmers of the lowlands a degraded class. A cause grows to be desperate, indeed, that must make its apology with what amounts to a wholesale slander of the great mass of white people in the South, indiscriminately dubbed "poor whites", whose former condition was so degraded that a removal to the cotton mills is a blessing. As you look at these photographs of the children

in the mills and remember that these children work for eleven hours a day in the South Carolina mills and for twelve hours a day in the North Carolina mills and the Georgia mills here shown, I think it will be still more difficult to understand how the change for these children from the work the child could do on the farm, in the open air, to work by day or night in the humid, heated,* lint-filled atmosphere of the spinning mill, is a change for the better, so far as the child is concerned.

"POOR WHITE FOLKS"

BY HOOPER ALEXANDER, Esq.,
Atlanta, Ga.

I have been asked to make some statements here in reference to the existence of a parasitic disease in the South, the remedy for which is to transfer the entire population into the cotton mills, as proposed by the discoverer of the disease, but it will be practically impossible for me to go into that subject in the very brief time to which I am limited. I can only say to you in the most general way, that, so far as we are concerned in the South, we have started out to put an end to this new offense of child labor.

I think we do not understand one another altogether. I know, I have always known, that you people here have some misconceptions about us in the South, and since I have been here, I think, I have seen those misconceptions growing; and I am inclined to think, maybe, we have some misconceptions about you.

We are exactly the same people that you are. We came from the same stock, only we have stuck to it a little better.

One of the speakers last night, Mrs. Harriman, had a good deal to say about the "poor whites", as they call them in the South. Back in the times when slavery existed, the slave entertained toward the family of his master the same sort of personal affection that existed in old feudal times, and was disposed to look with a good deal of contempt upon those people who did not own slaves—and the vast majority of the people of the South did not own slaves, and were always from the first opposed to slavery.

The negroes came in contact with the overseer. The overseer, or superintendent, or manager, was generally an employed man whose people did not own slaves. From him the appeal of the slave lay to the master, and, consequently, a natural affection existed between the slave and the master, and there came to be in many instances a spirit of antagonism toward the class who did not own slaves, and the negro spoke of them, spoke of these people, in a contemptuous way as the "poor white folks", or the "poor white trash". I remember it distinctly from my childhood days, because

my memory goes back to that. But, as a matter of fact, it is a great mistake to suppose that there ever was such a class distinction in the South. You have here and throughout the North the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, and there is a sort of distinction about it. Let me tell you that in the South there is not one man in ten who doesn't point with pride to the fact that his family comes from Revolutionary lines. It is the common heritage of all the people, and these people who have been spoken of here as a degraded and immoral race are the most moral race I have ever known. And I know them; I have lived among them all my life; and I know their habits and their ways of thought; and these are the people who have been held up to you as an utterly hopeless, degenerate, illiterate race, from whom nothing is to be expected.

You have here in Massachusetts 2,800,000 people. We have in Georgia 2,200,000, or did by the last census. Of your 2,800,000, 800,000 and more are not natives here, they having come in from foreign countries. In addition to that, there are 400,000 of your people who have come in from other States, and you have sent out from this State a little over 200,000. When you go to Georgia and find there 2,200,000 people, you find we have sent out to other States in this Union nearly 500,000, and received back 193,000, and we have in that State only 12,000 men who are not native Americans.

Now, that means that the population of that State is the same old stock; that it has not been replenished; that it is a fruitful race, and it is not possible, it cannot be, my friends, that a race of that sort of people is a degenerate race.

Senator Hoar, in one of his writings, took occasion to say that his entire political life had been spent in controversy with the representatives of the Southern people. He had no occasion, from a political standpoint, to regard them with sympathy, but it was his testimony that for a people who had adhered conscientiously through the years and through the generations to the fixed convictions of their souls, there was no people that equaled them, and it was his testimony, and it is the testimony of the records now, that every Southern Senator and every Representative that has served in the Congress of this Union for years and years has come out of it a poorer man than when he went into it. That sort of representatives does not spring from a degenerate race of people.

We found, a few years ago, the existence of slavery among

little children in the factories, and the State of Georgia immediately took steps to relieve it, and I want to give you my testimony, as one who has struggled in that fight, that the most difficult thing we have had to combat has emanated from New England.

The evil of child labor in the South is a new invention, and New England influences first set it in operation in the South. As soon as its presence was discovered, home influences went to work for its correction, and the Georgia Child Labor Committee, of which I am a charter member, General John B. Gordon being its first chairman, was organized and at work before the National Committee was thought of. Progress has been made, and more will be made.

THE FEDERAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU

BY OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

The National Child Labor Committee has apparently gone far afield from its distinctive purpose in making its persistent appeal for a Federal Children's Bureau. For manifestly such a service as we urge would affect the lives of many beside working children. This proposition, however, is based upon our estimate of the worth of the child to American society. The child, from the standpoint of national life, is our most valuable asset. Human labor and intelligence, operating upon our natural physical resources, create our material wealth. Human labor, intelligence and virtue are the forces creating, propagating and maintaining the social and political institutions which at once utilize and safeguard our material resources. In two decades all these interests will be in the hands of the children of to-day. We believe the establishment of this bureau will affect all child-helping agencies and we shall share in the benefit.

Our argument for the bureau is as follows:

I. SPECIAL AGENCY REQUIRED

No government agency in the United States is at present equipped or adapted to collect and disseminate information regarding the health, efficiency, character and training of children.

The people of our country recognize very well the importance of investigating all other matters. All other forms of our welfare are being pretty carefully looked after, perhaps for the reason our chairman has advanced, because of our desire to conserve and utilize all our material resources. We have gone so far, that while we may have very strong ideas as to state rights, when it comes to the question of the development of material resources we recognize very generally the unity of our nation and have established under our federal government something like one hundred and seventeen bureaus for the study of every kind of question. If a man in Texas finds that one of his hogs has cholera he sends a telegram to Washington, and if it seems a serious case something like a

hundred or more of our Washington experts will go down to Texas and make an examination of that hog. If a child is in need of assistance and its mother cannot give it, and no local expert is available, there is no source at Washington or anywhere else under the American flag to which she can appeal for aid.

The government bureaus most closely related to the purposes sought are the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Labor and the Bureau of Education. Were it possible to secure the end desired through any of these existing agencies, the advocates of the pending bill would gladly withdraw their propaganda and refer the matter to such agency. Nor have we failed to take cognizance of these government instruments and seek advice from them.

II. RELATED AGENCIES

Census Bureau

To the question whether the service contemplated in this bill could be rendered by the Census Bureau we have the following reply from Hon. S. N. D. North, former Director of the Census:

"We do not want to divert our energies into studies of physical degeneracy, of orphanage, of juvenile delinquency and juvenile courts, and all that class of questions which are not statistical questions. The Census Office is a purely statistical office"

Bureau of Labor

Many items of information sought relate to occupational activities of the child, and advice was therefore sought from the Bureau of Labor. In reply to our question, Hon. Charles P. Neill, Commissioner of Labor, says:

"I do not believe you could get the same quality of ability to do this work under the Bureau of Labor as you could have it, say, under an independent bureau. I do not believe if the government is going to spend money at all in this particular line that it will be economical or that we shall get the best results if it attempts simply to make use to a limited extent of existing organizations, no one of which, so far as I know, is equipped or could equip itself without some departure from its proper line of work, to study these things as thoroughly and as fundamentally as they ought to be studied."

Bureau of Education

The Bureau of Education was next consulted, and the following reply received from Hon. Elmer E. Brown, Commissioner of Education:

"For such work as the Bureau of Education has to do, it is important that such work as is here advised should be done somewhere. We cannot deal properly with the large questions of the education of children without a more detailed and accurate knowledge than we now possess as to the actual conditions surrounding the child life of the country, such conditions as are referred to in this bill. I think the best way to accomplish this end is by the passage of such a bill as this and the establishment of a separate bureau."

III. WASTE AND CONFUSION

In default of any government agency directly responsible for this work, local methods of dealing with the various problems of childhood are at present in a state of chaos.

This fact is revealed by a study of the work of agencies interested in child welfare.

Dependents

(1) Institutions and associations for the care of dependent or orphan children show the widest diversity in nature and method, and exhibit a lack of co-ordination truly appalling. Between some of these agencies bitter rivalry exists, while no authoritative source of information can be appealed to for a statement of the plans that have proven most economical, humane and constructive.

At the hearing before the House Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department, January 27, 1909, Hon. Homer Folks, Secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association, estimated that the cost of supporting over 90,000 dependent children in institutions is between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000 annually. In addition to these 90,000 children he estimated that from 40,000 to 50,000 more were cared for in other ways, but he said, "there is no authoritative statement of the total amount of such work and far less in authoritative inter-relation of the nature of the work, of the results, of the experience, of what becomes of these children, or what kind of citizens they are making, and what we

wish to urge upon you is that we spend a little money to find out if this \$25,000,000 or \$30,000,000 a year that is being spent is being spent to the best advantage, and if this average of 140,000 or 150,000 children who are under the care of charitable agencies are turning out well. We would like to know how the scheme is really working."

Why should there not be agreement? Wise plans are being adopted in some parts of the country. Unwise plans are followed in others. Why should not these, our best citizens, have access to the very best methods applied anywhere?

Delinquents

(2) Agencies for dealing with delinquent children manifest a similar lack of co-ordination.

Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, says:

"We have recently been startled to find that four-fifths of all the arrests in the criminal courts of Chicago are of boys between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, of whom the large majority are under nineteen. This is so menacing that we should like to know whether the same condition is met in other American cities, or whether Chicago is unique in this excess of criminality among its youth. At present there is no method by which this may be determined. The proposed children's bureau could collect and distribute the very sort of information most valuable to those who are struggling with the problem of juvenile delinquency as well as with other grave matters connected with the lives of city children."

Juvenile courts and systems of probation have been established in a number of leading cities. But at present no agency is charged with collecting for convenient use the latest and most valuable information gleaned from the experiences of these local agencies. In default of this, obsolete methods are continually being introduced in certain localities, although in other localities their disuse has followed their proven ineffectiveness.

Local juvenile court judges and probation officers are seriously interrupted in their work by inquiries from other states and foreign countries for statements of the history and methods of their work. A central clearing house of information would not only serve to reduce to a minimum mistakes and worthless experimentation, but would relieve these overworked local officials of a valuable public

service they should not be compelled to render, and which could be better performed through a federal bureau.

Health

(3) We have at present no information on infant mortality, illegitimacy, race degeneracy, health and training of the child on any national scale. In default of this information there is continual difference of opinion as to the extent and nature of evils that threaten child life.

One example will illustrate the point. Passing by the accidents and dangers associated with mine and factory employment of children, note the new attack upon our work by those, who, purporting to represent the views of an official of the United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, contend that at one point at least our propaganda is injuring rather than helping the child. This they do by contrasting the hookworm with the cotton mill. They picture the cotton mill as a blessing to the germ-cursed millions of the South, and intimate that when all facts are known child labor advocates will see the wrong they have done Southern children by seeking to exclude them from the mills.

The Hookworm

I confess it is a little difficult to follow their argument. One hundred years of experience in textile industry in England and many years experience in this and other countries have produced evidence convincing to leaders in the medical profession that child labor in textile mills is injurious. The claim is even made that for strong, healthy, well-nourished children the textile mill is detrimental, that the long hours, moist atmosphere (particularly in cotton mills) and eye strain in many departments are a menace. Yet we are now asked to believe that children diseased, poorly fed, half-clad, whose vital organs and lifeblood are being sucked away by the hookworm, are benefited by the long hours and hard labor of the cotton mill.

The contention that the cotton mill is the only alternative to hookworm is not borne out by the teachings of Dr. Stiles. He claims that from 15 to 75 cents' worth of medicine will cure the disease. If this is true the cash outlay is certainly a more economic investment than the dedication of twelve-year-old boys and girls to a twelve-hour day or a ten-hour night in a textile mill.

Investigations of hookworm show that it is perpetuated and propagated chiefly by soil pollution. Valuable instruction is given by Dr. Stiles and others for the purification of soil in the vicinity of dwelling houses and for the proper construction and care of sanitary toilets, where adequate sewerage systems are not available. If there were a guarantee that every family from the sand barrens who moves into a cotton mill village would follow these instructions implicitly the hope of curing the disease by migration would be increased; but every one familiar with such communities knows that not over 1 per cent. of the people literally follow the instructions of Dr. Stiles and other sanitary experts.

If the disease is due to soil pollution what guarantee have we that in ten years the ground of the cotton-mill villages will not be as foul as that in the vicinity of the old farm house in the hills? Should it become polluted, we shall face the necessity of curing hookworm disease in a mill population which, although better housed and better fed than formerly, will lack the resisting power of those who live in the open air.

The present situation with regard to this subject is extremely unfortunate. Every person in the South interested in the factory employment of little children is to-day quoting the statements that purport to come from these government officials, but which doubtless in reality have come from publicity experts of popular periodicals as a defense of the exploitation of the little child. That due regard should be given to interests of primitive communities is recognized, and in many instances families who migrate from their remote cabins in the sand hills to the newly built cotton villages find the economic necessities of the new environment extremely hard. The low standard of wages in many of these mills lays a heavy burden on the family purse, and one can readily understand the eagerness of the parent to utilize the frail services of infant hands to eke out the family income. But that the employment of tender children for a ten-hour or twelve-hour day is a necessity in that or any other part of the country we emphatically deny. The time has come when the standards of our country must indignantly repudiate the principle that our industrial progress and the domestic independence of our people are built on such a foundation.

Frankly, it puts the manufacturers, who defend this child employment, in little better light to follow their line of excuse for

child labor. Science and experience teach that factory labor tends to make children pale and to interfere with their physical development. Now we are met by a class of practical economists who tell us that instead of making children sick in their factories, they are engaged in the employment of sick children.

If conditions of farm life are as much worse than conditions in the cotton mill, as is claimed, we believe we have a two-fold reason for a most persistent, vigorous campaign of education in sanitary reform. This point could be settled by the services of such a bureau as is here proposed. Instead of appearing as hostile, there should be the most cordial and intimate co-operation, but co-operation can come only as a result of a fair and impartial report from authoritative sources. I bespeak the representatives of the National Child Labor Committee in saying that we welcome all information that can be gathered regarding abuse or neglect of little children anywhere, and so far as that abuse or neglect relates to or may be affected by their industrial occupations, we stand ready to use all our efforts in their behalf.

No adequate birth records are kept outside the registration area. Dr. Livingston Farrand, executive secretary of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, says:

"As the organized crusade against tuberculosis develops, it is becoming more and more evident that one of the most fundamental problems is that of tuberculosis in children and the methods of dealing with it. In planning and organizing such efforts we are met at once by the lack of authoritative information regarding conditions, and the co-operation of an official children's bureau such as that under consideration, would be of inestimable service to our movement."

Play

(4) The need for information on the part of those seeking to safeguard the leisure of childhood can best be voiced in the words of America's most eminent specialist in the development of recreation for children, Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick, president of the Playground Association of America:

"The street education of children is bad education. It usually means the immoral approach to some of the most holy relations in life. It means physical danger from being run over. It means

inadequate opportunity for play. Children need sandpiles, seesaws, swings, places where they can play ball and the like. Children also need wholesome play traditions. The development of the modern city as well as the development of the modern specialized farm have made new conditions for children, which must be thoroughly studied and met if the children are to continue to grow up wholesome. The development of the city boys' gang into the political unit is, as Jacob Riis has called, and I agree with him in calling, the chief peril of American politics. Nobody is competent to deal with this situation, saving some branch of the national government. It is not a phase of education. It cannot be handled, save by some such power as is contemplated. These are the reasons why I believe in the children's bureau."

Child Labor

(5) A glance at the laws regulating the employment of children and at the census returns of occupations in which child labor is involved, reveals the inequality of these conditions and of the legislation sought to regulate them. All states, with one exception, have laws regulating employment of children. In no two states are these laws alike. Experience indicates that every year in some state radical legislation is sought by enthusiastic advocates, which has already proven unavailing in other states; or conservative legislation is blocked by ignorance and prejudice, although its operation in other states has proven its wisdom.

To have a government source of information to which the people interested in this work could appeal, would be an achievement alone justifying the establishment of the proposed bureau. It is the contention of those opposed to child labor that the government should be able to furnish inquirers with a substantially accurate estimate of the number of children employed in various occupations, the conditions under which they labor, and, so far as discernible, the effects—economic, physical, educational, moral—of such employment.

IV. CO-OPERATION OF PRIVATE AGENCIES

The activity of private organizations would properly begin where the government service ends, by taking the information at hand and organizing propaganda for correction of whatever evils are found to exist.

V. MODEST ESTIMATE

The bill provides for a total annual appropriation of \$51,820, including office accommodations. This appropriation does not appear excessive, in view of what the government already expends with the greatest popular approval in the establishment of other bureaus.

VI. PUBLIC INTEREST

Agencies and individuals qualified by experience to judge the wisdom of such a proposal have given it hearty approval.

Agencies

The National Child Labor Committee, which drafted the bill, has been engaged for five years in efforts to secure improved legislation and the enforcement of laws in behalf of working children. Recognizing the importance of the authoritative information sought, this committee made the interests of the bill a principal feature of its work during the past congressional session, and at present devotes a substantial portion of its energies to correspondence and conference with the multitude of people interested in the project.

On January 25-26, 1909, at a Conference on Dependent Children called by President Roosevelt at the White House, representatives of child-helping agencies from all parts of the country were present. This was the most representative body ever assembled to consider the problems of dependent children. A resolution was unanimously adopted as follows:

A bill is pending in Congress for a Federal Children's Bureau, to collect and disseminate information affecting the welfare of children. In our judgment, the establishment of such a bureau is desirable, and we earnestly recommend the enactment of the pending measure.

The National Consumers' League, in its Tenth Annual Report (1909), says:

The following are some of the points on which it is hoped that the bureau, when established, may furnish enlightenment:

1. How many blind children are there in the United States? Where are they? What provision for their education is made? How many of them are receiving training for self-support? What are the causes of their blindness? What steps are taken to prevent blindness?

2. How many mentally subnormal children are there in the United

States, including idiots, imbeciles and children sufficiently self-directing to profit by special classes in school? Where are these children? What provision is made for their education? What does it cost? How many of them are receiving training for self-support?

3. How many fatherless children are there in the United States? Of these, how many fathers are dead? How many are illegitimate? How many are deserters? In cases in which the father is dead, what killed him? It should be known how much orphanage is due to tuberculosis, how much to industrial accidents, etc. Such knowledge is needful for the removal of preventable causes of orphanage.

4. We know something about juvenile illiteracy once in ten years. This subject should be followed up every year. It is not a matter of immigrant children, but of a permanent, sodden failure of the Republic to educate a half million children of native English-speaking citizens. Current details are now unattainable.

5. Experience in Chicago under the only effective law on this subject in this country indicates that grave crimes against children are far more common than is generally known. There is no official source of wider information upon which other States may base improved legislation or administration.

6. How many children are employed in manufacture? In commerce? In the telegraph and messenger service? How many children are working under ground in mines? How many at the mine's mouth? Where are these children? What are the mine labor laws applicable to children? We need a complete annual directory of state officials whose duty it is to enforce child labor laws. This for the purpose of stimulating to imitation those states which have no such officials, as well as for arousing public interest in the work of the existing officials.

7. We need current information as to juvenile courts, and they need to be standardized. For instance, no juvenile court keeps a record of the various occupations pursued by the child before its appearance in court beyond, in some cases, the actual occupation at the time of the offense committed. Certain occupations are known to be demoralizing to children, but the statistics which would prove this are not now kept. It is reasonable to hope that persistent, recurrent inquiries from the Federal Children's Bureau may induce local authorities to keep their records in such form as to make them valuable both to the children concerned and to children in parts of the country which have no similar institutions.

8. There is no accepted standard of truancy work. In some places truant officers report daily, in others weekly, in some monthly, in others, never. Some truant officers do no work whatever in return for their salaries. There should be some standard of efficiency for work of this sort, but first we need to know the facts.

9. Finally, and by far the most important, we do not know how many children are born each year or how many die, or why they die. We need statistics of nativity and morality. What Dr. Goler has done for Rochester should be made known to all the health authorities in the United States,

and the success or failure of the others in reaching his standards should be published with ceaseless reiteration.

The American Federation of Labor at the meeting in Toronto sent to the President of the United States the following telegram:

TORONTO, Ontario, November 21, 1909.

Hon. William H. Taft, President United States, Washington, D. C.

Executive Council American Federation of Labor respectfully urges, among other important matters affecting labor legislation, you will recommend to Congress the establishment of a Children's Bureau.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

The measure has the formal endorsement of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and nearly all state federations of Women's Clubs, the Clark University Conference on Child Welfare and other national bodies, while a mere catalogue of resolutions from charity-organization societies, state and national church conferences, local churches, clubs, associations, labor unions and other bodies would exceed the limits of this address.

Individuals

Concrete reasons for establishing this bureau have been submitted to Congress by the leading authorities in work among children, including:

Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D., director New York School of Philanthropy, New York City.

Lillian D. Wald, founder and head worker, Henry Street Settlement, New York City.

Thomas F. Walsh, president Colorado Humane Society, Denver.

Leo Arnstein, manufacturer, New York City.

Charles R. Henderson, Ph.D., professor sociology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Edward T. Devine, Ph.D., editor, *The Survey*, New York City.

William H. Baldwin, Washington, D. C.

Henry B. Favill, M.D., Chicago, Ill.

John Mitchell, vice-president American Federation of Labor, New York City.

Mrs. Philip N. Moore, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, St. Louis, Mo.

Bernard Flexner, chairman Juvenile Court Board, Louisville, Ky.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary, National Consumers' League, New York City.

Hon. Julian W. Mack, judge of Circuit Court, Cook County, Chicago, Ill.

Ludwig B. Bernstein, Ph.D., superintendent, Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Orphan Asylum, New York City.

Dr. A. J. McKelway, secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee, Atlanta, Ga.

VII. ENDORSEMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

This measure was carefully reviewed by the House Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department (January 27, 1909) and by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor (February 4, 1909).

The time at the disposal of the committees was fully occupied by advocates of the measure and no word was spoken in opposition. Following these hearings the bill received the endorsement of both committees. From these reports we quote:

Senate Committee on Education and Labor, February 11, 1909, Frank P. Flint, chairman:

The committee believes that such facts as may be scientifically ascertained and may be published in popular form concerning the child life of the nation will be of inestimable advantage. We believe it would be entirely within the province of the National Government to secure scientific and reliable information along these lines concerning the general welfare of the children of the nation. Other nations have already advanced beyond our own in researches of this kind.

House Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department, Gilbert N. Haugen, chairman, February 13, 1909:

The legislation affecting the children that is being enacted by many States could be wisely directed with the information that would be obtained through such a bureau. The light that would come up in the treatment of the problems of childhood would enable the various private individuals, organizations and states, to multiply many fold the value of the work for the nation that is now being done by them by giving them the benefit of each other's experience and knowledge.

SYMPOSIUM—VOCATION

I. VOCATIONAL DIRECTION, OR THE BOY AND HIS JOB

BY EVERETT W. LORD,

Secretary for New England, National Child Labor Committee.

I believe the old debating society problem as to whether work is a blessing or a curse has never been satisfactorily settled. Those of us who are strongly orthodox in spite of the clouds of heterodoxy which so surround us may look back to the time when the human race was able to live without work; when the spontaneous growth of one beautiful garden provided for all the wants of its inhabitants, and we recall that the sentence to toil for bread was imposed on man as a distinct penalty for sin. This seems to make the case reasonably clear for the negative: that work is not a blessing, but a curse; but in these days we are not accustomed to determine social problems entirely by reference to the Scriptures. There is always the fear that the higher critics or the lower critics or some other bold investigators may find some emendation, or that there may have been some omission or alteration to suit the fallible judgment of self-styled infallible judges, so that the meaning of the text we base our argument upon is likely to be challenged; and so, very prudently, we try to back our conclusions by application to the world as we know it and see it, and so doing we avoid scholastic difficulties which may otherwise leave us in confusion. With that idea, therefore, I intend to suggest some slight study of the problem of work as we see it to-day. I am not particularly interested in determining whether work is a blessing or a curse. I am interested in some of the present-day problems of the worker.

It is fashionable to claim a love for work, although a good many find it possible to speak of it in terms which cannot be ranked as extravagant encomiums; but the love of work, if anybody has it, is absolutely unnatural; it is an acquired taste, like the taste for olives or the taste for Wagner's music. That is the history of the individual and the history of the race. The child works to win

approbation or to avoid reproof—not for the pleasure of working. Savage tribes with their few needs come nearest to living in leisure, though even among savages there must always be some workers. As desires and needs become greater, working to supply them becomes more common. Among civilized peoples the demands of the individual and the family are so great that the habit of working has become well-nigh universal. In the early history of civilization most manual labor was performed by slaves. In ancient Greece, which we are so fond of emulating in many ways, the number of slaves was from four to six times as large as the number of free inhabitants. In later times slaves or serfs still continued to do the manual labor, and the upper classes, the free men and women, were able to devote their lives largely to leisure. With the abolition of slavery, and the economic rise of the lower classes, it became more and more necessary for all to work, and we, in this country, have reached the point where we look upon a person who has no regular occupation as either a profligate idler or a dangerous vagrant.

In an ideal state of society no one would have to work unduly; the father of the family would be able to support his wife and children without their having to enter occupations outside of the home; every worker would find his tasks congenial and sufficiently productive to meet all his demands. Under such circumstances we could recognize work as a blessing, for it would undoubtedly serve to prevent the evils which follow in the path of idleness. That we are a long way from the ideal state is evident when we realize that thousands of toilers, even in prosperous America, must spend every waking moment in a frantic endeavor to gain the barest subsistence by their work; that women are so generally going into industrial life that the stability of the home itself seems threatened; that the labor of children is in such demand that our schools provide a complete grammar school training for only one child in three; and that discontent with the job and dissatisfaction with the recompense are driving ten thousand workmen daily into disastrous strikes.

Work may be a blessing; I believe that it sometimes is, but many curses seem to rest on the hapless worker. It is not a marvel in view of all this that our country is infested with a legion of vagrant non-workers, who have found preying on society more pleasing than holding an honorable place in the ranks of producers. We all do always what we want to do most, and the tramp prefers

his idle existence of vagrant uncertainty to a treadmill existence of industrial uncertainty.

Unemployment

Let me sketch briefly some of these present-day labor problems. One of the first in importance is that of unemployment. We have no figures on which to base statistics as to the number of unemployed in the nation, but several states have published from time to time in their statistical reports figures or estimates touching the question. In Massachusetts, for instance, there is annually published a report of the number of unemployed people connected with various labor organizations; New York publishes a similar report, and several other states give some information on this subject. There have been one or two careful investigations made by private workers, and all these help us to form some estimate of the extent of the problem of unemployment. In general, it seems safe to say that nearly twenty per cent. of those who should be producers at any one time are unemployed. It is not always the same twenty per cent., though perhaps one quarter of this number may be permanently at leisure. Even in the most prosperous times, and among skilled workmen, there is a surprising amount of time lost from lack of work, bad weather, sickness, strikes or other reasons. A careful study of the conditions of 152 workingmen's families recently made by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics reveals what is there referred to as perhaps the greatest evil of the American industrial system. These families were probably somewhat above the average; the heads of the families earned on the average \$594 a year, but in 127 out of 152 cases the earnings of the head of the family were not sufficient to pay the family expenses; minor children contributed more than eleven per cent. of the aggregate family income, and wives working outside of the family contributed nearly six per cent. of the total income. That the inability of the head of the family to provide for all necessities was largely due to irregular employment is shown by the fact that the workers lost on an average thirty-five working days in a year or eleven per cent. of the possible working time.

Women in Industry

The presence of women in the industrial world is a comparatively recent factor which must enter largely into any consideration

of labor problems. There are few lines of industry into which women have not entered; indeed, out of 303 occupations or groups of occupations named in the United States census in 1900 there were only four which women had not entered. There are women blacksmiths, women barbers, women sailors and women hostlers, women preachers and women bartenders. The only occupations which were open to men alone in 1900 were the military service of the United States, that of telephone and telegraph linemen, roofers and slaters, and steam-boiler makers. I do not know why women have shunned these last three occupations. I know, and so does many another man whose first training was in the district school, that women know well how to handle a shingle, and why they have not entered into the vocation of roofing seems unaccountable; and it would not seem an impossible transition from the washboiler to the steam boiler, nor from the clothes line to the telegraph line. However, our data is ten years old; no doubt when this year's census figures appear we shall find the military service the only unassailed refuge for man. There are eight occupations in which the number of women exceeds that of men. This excess is natural in such occupations as that of keeping boarders and nursing, but it is wholly unnatural in the profession of teaching, and not entirely essential in the stenographer's career. The feminization of our schools has caused many a serious thought to educators, and the presence of women in business offices, where as stenographers they far outnumber men, has caused serious thought to social and moral leaders. Ten years ago a little more than one-sixth of all the women in the country were reported as wage-earners. In general they work for less money than do men; often they do better work. How generally they become real competitors with them, even to the extent of forcing men into idleness, cannot be told, but true it is that the father at home doing the housework, while the mother earns the living in shop or factory is by no means infrequent; nor do we know how often a business career before marriage has caused disaster thereafter through the inability of the wife to perform the household duties. That such cases are common our divorce court records show.

Child Workers

The percentage of child breadwinners between the ages of ten and sixteen was, according to the census of 1900, almost the same

as that of women workers; nearly one-sixth of the children of these ages were reported as at work in so-called gainful industry. This picture is darker than that of the employment of women, for there are lines of work which by their very nature are adapted only to women, and there must always be independent and unattached women for whom employment is as necessary as for men, but there are no occupations in which the child is naturally and rightly employed. Our customs, and to some extent, our productive machinery, have made child labor seem almost indispensable, but the child's work can always be done by an adult. Nor is the labor of the child justified as a measure of family support. It more frequently happens that the child in the factory drives the father into the breadline than that its work reduces the father's cares by adding to the family income.

There is something subtle about the problem of child labor. We are prone to see the evils of idleness and have the tendency to believe that any kind of work is good for anybody. We assume too readily that work is of necessity a blessing. All agree that since the child must be trained to a life of industry he should have some industrial education, and there are many who can not see why this education should not be acquired through productive labor at an early age. The most unfortunate thing about such labor is that it is not educative, for the child employed in the factory, the mill, the store or the street is not learning a trade or acquiring a means of future subsistence. Tens of thousands of children are working in our textile mills, North and South, but few of them learn anything of permanent value; they are doing work which requires neither a great degree of skill nor cultivation of thought, and when they have spent the years of childhood in dreary toil, they are doomed to continue in work little if any higher in grade, and at little or no increase in wages. The breaker boys sitting across the chutes through which pour the ceaseless streams of anthracite, are not learning as they watch the flow of coal and cull out the pieces of stone and slate; in exchange for their youthful vigor they are not acquiring any training which will be useful to them in future years; they are only filling in their time and using up their energy in this occupation. Not only will they be no better miners for their years of work on the breaker, but as their health and strength are sapped,

and their education wholly neglected, they will be less efficient workmen and less valuable citizens because of that work. The thousands of messengers and errand boys on our city streets are not on the high road to success; they are not learning business methods nor habits of industry. On the contrary, they are learning to idle away a large part of their time, and not infrequently are being trained in every vice. They are occupying themselves with tasks which, according to our strange custom, are recognized as suitable for boys only, and in a few years they must leave their places for other boys, while they go out without training for useful industry and with habits almost invariably tending downward. It is not purely by chance that eighty per cent. of the boys committed to the reform schools in Massachusetts have been previously employed as messengers or newspaper sellers. The life on the street leads almost directly to the juvenile court and the reform school.

One of the greatest reasons for objecting to employment of children in seasonal industries, like fish-canning on the coast of Maine, is the fact that such employment teaches idleness rather than industry. The worker readily gets the habit of relying upon his earnings during the season for an alternate season of unemployment. If we must work, regular habits of industry must be formed, and this is not done in trades which leave half the year unoccupied.

In the department stores of our large cities thousands of young girls find employment as cash-girls and bundle-girls; it might seem most natural that these girls should grow up to take positions as sales-girls, but that is not the case; when they become too old for children's tasks, they are still unfitted for any special vocation, and the great majority seek low-grade employment in factories or shops, or disappear in the underworld.

The boy on the farm, working by the side of his father, may be acquiring a valuable education; and the girl occupied with household tasks is learning that most important of careers, home-making. The great fault found with commercialized child labor is that the armies of children employed are not only deprived of the opportunity to acquire education in school, but are being taught nothing which can serve to make them better able to support themselves when they reach manhood and womanhood.

All these evils are phases of the so-called labor problem.

Various are the means of amelioration suggested; advanced legislation will stop much child labor, increased wage scales may make it possible for the *pater familias* to support all the family on his own earnings, tariffs may be raised or lowered, and monetary standards may be revised. Doubtless all these may help solve the great problem, but we must not forget that the condition of the individual cannot be greatly bettered unless we better the individual, and aid him to place himself in fittest relations to his environment. One very grave fault in our industrial system is the haphazard way in which people get into it; working women and children and many unemployed men are suffering from lack of adaptation to their occupations.

Industrial Unrest

About a year ago I sent out from my office several hundred letters to people engaged in various occupations, asking them to answer certain questions; among these questions were: What is your present occupation? How did you happen to choose that occupation? Did you have any special qualification or training for it? Are you satisfied with it? If you were to choose again would you choose the same thing? I received a large number of replies, and in looking them over I found that of all the people who replied, representing nearly every profession and line of work, only about five per cent. stated that they were so well satisfied with their present business that if they were to choose again they would choose the same thing. Of course it often happens that the other fellow's job looks better to us than our own, but making all due allowance, I feel that when only a small per cent. of our people claim to be satisfied with the work they are doing, it shows something radically wrong in the way they have chosen their work.

Certainly no act in one's lifetime is more important than the choosing of a career, and none deserves more careful thought. Yet the vast majority of our people drift into this or that vocation without even exercising the right of choice. I have a young friend who graduated from high school three years ago; being ambitious and bright he immediately sought employment and earned his first money as a teacher; soon he realized something of his need for more education and he left home for college, intending to specialize in pedagogical lines; at the college he found that theological students were given free scholarships, so he enrolled for a course

in theology, which he seems to have absorbed very quickly, for after a few months of college he left to take a pastorate in a country town. One of his parishioners, an old storekeeper, took a fancy to the boy and offered him a partnership in his business, which the young minister promptly accepted. Selling groceries soon seemed to have proven distasteful, and I learned a few weeks ago that the young fellow was studying law in an attorney's office. Now, what that young man needs, I suspect, is to learn what his own qualifications are, and in what vocation those qualifications are most likely to be employed to advantage. He may succeed by this process of testing everything in sight, and take his place where he can be most useful and most happy, but it is a slow and dangerous process, and the chances are that he will waste his time and enthusiasm, at last to adopt an unsuitable occupation or to stumble along through life, that unfortunate mongrel—a jack of all trades.

Boys enter their lifework only rarely as the result of conscious choice. "The building of a career is quite as difficult a problem as the building of a house, yet few ever sit down with pencil and paper, with expert information and counsel, to plan a working career and deal with the life-problem scientifically, as they would deal with the problem of building a house, taking the advice of an architect to help them."¹

Choosing an Occupation

Among the answers to the question, "Why did you choose your present occupation?" which was one of the queries in my questionnaire, were such as, "Because that was what other boys were doing." "Because I happened to get a job at that trade." "Because that was the principal line of work near my home." "Because I had to take the first thing that I could get." "Because I thought the work was easy", this the reply of a motorman. "Because I could make more money at that than anything else." But the greater number could not answer the question for the simple reason that they had not chosen their vocation; they had only happened upon it, and they were without fixed purpose in following it; they might at any time drop it and take up another job or go without as chance should determine.

Boys find themselves in their vocations as the result of custom,

¹Parsons' "Choosing a Vocation."

heredity, propinquity or accident far oftener than through deliberate and conscious choice. It is surely unreasonable to look for good results under these circumstances; there must be the closest adaptation of a man to the position he fills if the result is to be happy. No one would expect successfully to mow a lawn with a safety razor, yet the razor is much better adapted to that work than are some people for the jobs they hold.

We take some degree of paternal care of children up to the time they leave school, then as they approach what the valedictorian is so fond of calling the "untried and uncharted ocean of life," we leave them absolutely without guidance to sink or swim as best they may. Why do we without a protest allow the near-sighted boy to become a chauffeur, the dull-eared girl to become a stenographer, the chronically careless youth to become a druggist, and the intellectual lightweight to become a preacher? Or why is not some effort made to guide the boy of constructive mind, artistic bent and mechanical skill into something which will afford a wider range for his powers than the clerical position in a candy shop which may happen to be the first opening he finds?

In the wise choice of a vocation two prime essentials stand out as obvious needs for each individual: (1) that he shall have a clear understanding of himself, his aptitudes, abilities, interests, ambitions, resources and limitations; (2) that he shall have a knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, the advantages and disadvantages, the compensation, opportunities for advancement, social standing and peculiar demands of different lines of work.

Every young person needs help on both these points. He does not know his own powers; he knows less of the vocational outlook. The help he needs cannot usually be supplied by those whom we may call his natural advisers—his parents, his teachers or his intimate friends. The parent and the teacher may have a fair knowledge of the boy's qualifications, although probably their ideas are far from clear and exact, but seldom can they aid at all in the second essential, the extensive acquaintance with the vocational field and its possibilities. That being the case the boy needs a special counsellor, some one who can analyze his character and his qualifications, and give him specific advice regarding the possibilities which lie before him. No person may assume to decide for another just what work he shall do or what occupation he should choose, but it

is possible to help him so to approach the problem that he shall come to wise conclusions for himself.

It has been said that our modern industrial development has been such that children rarely follow the business of their parents. This is partly due to the fact that the boy sees more of the inside of his father's work, and is more familiar with its unpleasant features than with those of any other career. It is perhaps more largely due to the industrial changes which in so many cases make the occupation of one generation obsolete for the next. My father was a sea captain, and in his day there were few more desirable positions. His work was agreeable, profitable and highly respected. Had I attempted to follow in his career my chance for success would have been much less than his, since, at the present time the number of our merchant ships has been so tremendously reduced.

Modern industry is exceedingly complex and it is a difficult process for boys and girls from fourteen to eighteen years of age, or older, to find out in what line they are likely to be most successful. In our so-called democratic society most of the children have been educated up to the time they leave the common school absolutely without regard to any individual characteristics which they may possess. We have not yet been able to undertake what President Eliot calls one of the most important functions of the public school, "the discovery and development of the gift or capacity of each individual child". It is for the interest of society to make this discovery at an early age, and then to make the most of each individual's peculiar powers by early and continuous training. Sometimes, apparently small personal gifts become means of conspicuous service or achievement if only they are early discovered, trained and applied. We are still much inclined to think of the average child, and our school programs are usually made with his needs in view. There is no more an average child than there is an ideal child. Our educational systems ought to be adjusted to meet the needs of the individual. "The best field of corn", says President Jordan, of Stanford, "is that in which the individual stalks are the most strong and the most fruitful; the strongest nation is that in which the individual man is the most helpful and most independent."

As all problems of childhood must relate to the school this question of vocational direction may well be considered as a school

problem. Few homes have the equipment, either physical or mental, to give proper advice to their own outgoing children. Our public schools, however, are organized specifically to fit children for the duties of after life, and there would seem to be every reason why the schools should undertake to help the child in an intelligent choice of vocation.

Vocational Counsellor

There needs to be a man who stands like the signalman in the tower by the side of the railroad track watching for the incoming trains and setting the switch to turn each train to a clear track. The engineer on the moving engine may know much about his own train, but he cannot know which tracks are clear and which are blocked. The towerman knows not only the needs of the train, but sees the condition of the road ahead. So the vocational counsellor, with a broad outlook upon industrial conditions, and a personal acquaintance with the needs and qualifications of the individual, though he cannot determine the life-course of the youth, may help him find a clear track upon which his life trip is likely to be happy.

Let me emphasize what I believe to be most important. This task of vocational suggestion is so great, and may be of so much value, that it should be undertaken by a specially qualified person who may be able to devote his whole time and interests to the work. In small communities it may be possible for the superintendent of schools or some teacher to do some of the work which might be expected of a vocational director, but usually those people have enough with their present duties. A vocation bureau, either under private management or as a branch of the public school work, might well be established in every city. Such bureaus are in operation in Boston, New York, Cincinnati and in some other American cities, some of them under the direction of the school department; others conducted by the Young Men's Christian Association; others under wholly private management. In Germany, where educational problems have been so successfully studied and so wisely solved, work similar to this has been carried on for a generation; in Scotland, too, it is being most successfully done. Industrial conditions in America make intelligent vocational counsel much more important than in either Germany or Scotland. Here is

a fruitful field for the public school, and for private social and philanthropic agencies.

It may seem not immediately possible to organize complete vocational bureaus in every city, but surely something can be done for the present help of our young people beyond anything which we have attempted. Even with no change in organization, and certainly with no lowering of literary standards, our public schools can do many helpful things. Often with its intensely literary curriculum and its bookish atmosphere the school turns the boy away from all outlook upon or contact with the industrial life. The introduction of manual training, and of a more complete industrial education, is helping to remove this tendency, and these changes are long steps in the right direction. We may go further without danger of being accused of radicalism. Something may be done to bring more directly to the attention of pupils in the upper grades the possibilities of vocational choice before them; for example, men of experience in various trades and professions may be induced to give short talks about their work to the upper-grade pupils. The pupils may be helped to make a little analytic study of the trades and professions about which they know or are informed, trying to work out the advantages and disadvantages, the demands and qualifications of the different careers.

Industrial concerns may be induced to allow small groups of pupils to visit their plants at convenient times and see for themselves how the different lines of work are performed. It is surprising how few kinds of skilled labor a boy has good opportunity to see. Perhaps one of the reasons every young boy wants to be a motorman is because he sees the motorman at work.

In our schools there should be systematic and complete records of the personal characteristics and vocational bent of every pupil. Such a record, which may be passed on from teacher to teacher as the pupil advances in his course, to be available when he is leaving school to go to work, might be of very great assistance to a conscientious teacher or a professional vocational director.

The vocational bureau should not be considered as an employment bureau, although it may sometimes serve that purpose; fully as often, however, its function is to prevent the applicant from going immediately to work by pointing out to him the possibilities of greater profit to himself and of greater usefulness to society which

may come from entering some more advanced line of work for which he needs further preparation. It should be remembered that a vocation is not simply a job, that it means much more than that which affords one an opportunity to make a living. The great mass of our people succeed in one way and another in making a living, even though they do work for which they are ill fitted, and in which their best enthusiasm and interests are not enlisted. It may sometimes be necessary for a boy to take the first job that comes to hand, even though it be wholly distasteful to him, but in that case he ought to be encouraged in preparing himself for something which will be more in harmony with his abilities and purpose. The idea of thoughtful, personal choice, and of earnest, unchanging purpose should be cultivated in every young person. The boy who has wisely made up his mind regarding the career which he should follow, as he can do after having taken expert counsel and sympathetic guidance, is likely to find an opportunity to enter his chosen vocation and to remain in it successfully; while his companion, who is merely waiting for something to turn up, and is following a purposeless round of uncongenial labor, is pretty certain never to find the chance which he vainly hopes may come to him.

I do not present the suggestion of vocational direction with the idea that it will prove a complete solution of the labor problem. I recognize many difficulties in the way. It is impossible for us to discern particular talent in case of many young people, and it may be impossible for us to find the opportunity for all to develop talents which they may show. He who undertakes the responsible position of adviser for youth must remember that he is working with human beings, and that he cannot shunt them upon this or that track with as little concern as the switchman turns the freight train. The responsibility, even of advising, is great and must not be lightly undertaken; yet I believe that we are right in undertaking it if by means of so advising and counselling the young we may be able to save some lives from wreck, and help many to better and more useful careers.

II. VOCATIONAL DIRECTION

BY DR. DAVID SNEDDEN,
Commissioner of Education, Massachusetts.

In the few moments at my disposal this morning I would like to speak very informally and bring out a few suggestions, for it is impossible to treat such a subject logically in twenty-five or thirty minutes. Of course, the persons in this audience are entirely familiar with the fact that our modern development has been such that children rarely follow their parents' calling. It is also a familiar fact that modern industry is fearfully complex, and that children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, in the great majority of cases, must start out to find places in this great economic world, and that the process to-day is a very difficult one. They do not follow the parents' occupation. They have to enter into the vast, complex situation for which they are denied practically any preparation whatever. This involves, although we have no statistics to prove it, a very great waste of youthful energy and happiness. Children are drafted into callings for which they are not fitted physically or temperamentally, with the result that sooner or later they must make changes which are wasteful and sometimes disastrous.

Waste of Human Resources

It is hardly fair to blame the individual employer for this situation, for it is the industrial system as a whole which makes possible this absorption of child labor, and it is the complexity of modern life which renders it impracticable for father, mother or other natural guardian to assist the early steps of young workers. There can be little doubt that in our large cities at the present time the loss of human energy that comes about through vocational mal-adjustment is surprisingly large.

By and by, however, there may be an adjustment within the industries by which they will accommodate themselves to the kind of labor provided, with a view to controlling the usefulness of that

same kind of labor, thus favoring vocational adjustment, and the diminution of vocational maladjustment so far as possible. This is simply another expression for the conservation of childhood, for the conservation of human energy, for the conservation of opportunities for larger and prolonged usefulness. The public schools are organized to fit children for the longer and higher life of usefulness and enjoyment. Vocational adjustment would be simply a step in this process. I think that historically, too, we can see why there has been in the past very little demand for vocational adjustment since under other conditions the home was a very competent agent. But it is under modern conditions and modern life that the home does not preserve its competency in this direction.

Vocation Clearing House

If it seemed desirable, it would be quite possible to maintain in connection with our high schools and upper grammar grades, especially in our large cities, information bureaus which could serve the purpose of vocational direction for young people. Out of the schools thousands of boys and girls come yearly seeking employment, and, naturally, on the other side, employers seek the labor of these boys and girls. The industries vary in the demands they make upon those they employ, and teachers in schools know well that boys and girls vary enormously in their capacity to give service. What is most needed is a clearing-house where reliable information may be provided to employers as to the qualifications of various classes of youthful workers, and, on the other hand, where young people may be informed as thoroughly as possible of the character and possibilities of the industries which are seeking their services.

It is apparent to any careful observer that at the present time we have very few traditions to fall back upon in establishing this kind of work. It is quite possible that the initial steps should be taken by private agencies, owing to their greater adaptability. The establishment of a few such experimental bureaus would very soon give rise to a body of information which could be used as a basis for subsequent attempts. It can hardly be doubted that in time, in connection with evening schools, day vocational schools, high schools and even the upper grammar grades, we shall establish such clearing-houses, and we shall place at the disposal of parents and their

children an amount and kind of information which can be provided from no other source.

Discussion

ROBERT A. WOODS, South End House, Boston: Dr. Snedden has laid stress upon the spirit in which this subject should be approached. I wish to emphasize the word. The spiritual view of life opens our eyes to its omnipresent potentialities. President Eliot has recently told us that the world has been made over during the past fifty years. The momentum which accomplished that miracle is not only still at work but will be more intensely and far more broadly productive in the next half century. The increment of power will come very largely from the development of the neglected abilities of the great mass of the rising generation.

The undreamed-of productive capabilities of human nature are suggested by experiments now being made which show that by a rhythmic division of the working day of certain unskilled laborers they can accomplish three or four times as much rough work as heretofore.

From this point of view we can realize more clearly than ever the weakness of mere pity or of denunciation in dealing with the problem of child labor. The dominating motive which must and will appeal to all elements of the community is that of the eliciting and utilization of now latent and wasted creative ability.

The most interesting item in the history of the anti-child labor movement which has ever come to me was the report of the opening of the Industrial School at Columbus, Georgia, at which the building was overcrowded because the children had just been dismissed from the mills owing to progressive child labor legislation. It is essential to steady and permanent gains in this matter that at least as great emphasis should be placed upon the provision of the industrial school as upon the elimination of the child from the factory.

Consider, too, the great human values that are in the natures of large numbers of the types of children who now go untrained for their life work. An organization like the vocational bureau will be of large and growing importance in testing and discerning the bent of the child's powers, stimulating the teacher to make discoveries in this direction, and providing means for eliciting the child's special abilities and persuading the employer that, from the strictest

economic point of view as well as from that of patriotism, a thoroughly developed system must be created for discovering and training productive capacity wherever it exists.

The Vocation Bureau aims to fulfill for the mass of young people the function which the responsible parent exercises when, after giving his son every opportunity for training, he feels that he must make a final, culminating effort to get the boy satisfactorily launched upon his appropriate career.

MR. LORD: We have only a few minutes for discussion of this important topic. Mr. Bloomfield, tell us what is being done in Boston.

MEYER BLOOMFIELD: I wish to say this in connection with vocational direction, that it is by no means something tied up with industrial education, or even vocational training. The idea of vocational direction must be understood as underlying preparation for any career. There is no bias, no disposition to turn children into industry, or any of the people into industry. From the point of view of those who are developing a practical, sane, useful plan of information and guidance, there is absolutely no intention to aid primarily employers or any class of people. There is something much broader, much deeper in the idea of vocational direction.

The idea of the vocational bureau is to guide the child's steps up to the time of choice. There is no such thing as choice in the present-day arrangement of labor, for choice implies intelligence and a kind of care. We are not at all in doubt as to the kind of information we must classify and tabulate and bring to the knowledge of people. This is a dangerous trust for the children. A few people must make it their special business to get this information together, and of bringing that knowledge home to the educated as well as to the uneducated. The idea of vocational direction is to supply what is now missing, certain experiences which shall be of value when the time for choice arrives. That is a safe, broad, wholesome proposition that is absolutely without bias. This administers as much to commerce as to trade. Choice must have a history behind it. To-day we leave our children absolutely without data, experience or evidence to choose. Therefore, we make them walk a plank blindfolded, throw them overboard, with millions of dollars to invest, and they flounder about in a sea where there is little guidance, where accident, chaos, anarchy reign. The result is to

drive a lot of children into my profession of law and into the equally crowded profession of medicine. And all the data, aptitude and knowledge which it is the right of people to have is missing. The time is coming when this very simple proposition will be organized in a way to appeal to parents, children, friends and the community in general. This is all I think vocational direction needs.

ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LAWS

BY HOMER FOLKS,
Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York.

I am not at all sure that a comparison of the numbers present at this meeting and at that held at 12 o'clock might not reflect somewhat the degree of interest in the subject of enforcing child labor legislation, as compared with the interest in securing its passage. The subject of enforcement of child labor legislation is one in which those of us engaged in promoting such legislation feel, or certainly ought to feel, a very great degree of responsibility. Having secured our laws, registering at least some degree of progress over earlier statutes, we do, as a matter of fact, find ourselves not by any means at the end of our child labor campaign, but only in the position of having captured the outer breastworks, so to speak, of the enemy's camp, and being then confronted with the main position, which remains to be secured. There is not, as a rule, quite as much of the spectacular effect, nor quite as much of the martial spirit, in securing the enforcement of child labor legislation; the batteries are more effectively masked; and it is very much more difficult, oft-times, to know against what we are contending and wherein the strength of the position lies, than it was when we were fighting out in the open before the legislative committees on the question of what laws shall go upon the statute books.

The question of law enforcement might be approached from two points of view, and does, in fact, involve two different sorts of considerations—one, a highly technical set of considerations as to the actual provisions of laws looking toward their enforcement, and intended to facilitate their enforcement, the machinery of inspection departments, and of court procedure; as to these I have no technical or special knowledge.

A second set of considerations is more general in character and might be approached with the question as to how laws in general are enforced and what considerations, what factors and what influences, as a rule, secure such degree of enforcement of other statutes as is actually secured. Looking at it in that most general

aspect, for a moment, I think it must be evident that the most powerful factor in securing the enforcement of any law—the factor that does, in fact, secure such enforcement as is secured in the main—is that intangible something, the force of public opinion. Most laws are to a very large extent executed by the force of that very sentiment which secures their enactment. Most of us obey the laws, most laws, in so far as we do obey them, not from fear of the jail or the court or the fine, or of any other penalty, but out of regard for the good opinion of our fellows, a majority of whom have registered, through their representatives, a consensus of opinion that a certain act, or a certain class of acts, are contrary to the general well-being and contrary to good public policy. Breaking laws is, as a rule, unpopular. It exposes a man to attack. His motives, as a rule, are questioned, and he is made to feel uncomfortable in other relations of life. That, in the long run and in the main, in my judgment, will be the factor ultimately securing the largest degree of compliance with child labor laws, as with other laws; and I speak of it to suggest that, perhaps, as a national child labor committee, and as state and local child labor committees, we might address ourselves somewhat directly to the task of making the violation of child labor laws more unpopular, and more generally recognized as being unpatriotic and bad citizenship—the kind of thing that a man who hopes to stand well in the community should not be found doing. In the creation of atmosphere and attitude toward the law, not only at the time it is enacted, but subsequently, we shall do more to strengthen the hands of our public departments charged with its enforcement than in any other way.

Then, secondly, I would also raise the question as to whether we might not address ourselves somewhat directly to the fact that in practically every case there is a parent concerned in the violation of the child labor law, and that the parent, if properly informed as to the nature of the offense, and definitely, in language intelligible to him, of which he grasps the full significance, that it is an offense against the law—whether we shall not in that way, also, secure a much larger degree of compliance with the law than, perhaps, we have heretofore secured.

But, still in the background there must always be the shadow of the actual penalty, and the machinery for discovering and bringing to task those who do not respond to those more general appeals

directed to good citizenship and to public esteem, and to the regard of their fellow-citizens in church and in society. Now, along the lines of that work, the question is at once raised as to the machinery of factory inspection and the processes for the actual enforcement of the law. I will only speak of two or three aspects of the matter as to which we, as child labor committees, perhaps can contribute, and probably must contribute, as a rule, very considerably to secure good results.

✱ The first of these is in securing the appropriation with which to obtain an adequate inspection department. As a hardened legislative agent of many years' experience in addressing the Legislature at Albany, the one thing that stands out in my experience and observation as most depressing is the frequency with which the Legislature deems it safe to yield to public sentiment to the extent of placing a law upon the statute books, while at the same time denying the request for the machinery with which the law might be enforced; and deeming it safe so to do, feeling reasonably confident that those who were interested in getting the law will not be awake to the fact as to whether it is enforced or not, and will not fully realize what is meant by the failure to grant the appropriation for its enforcement.

So strongly have I felt about this that it has seemed to me that perhaps it is the most serious evil of our state and local governments. It adds to the fact of leaving the situation unimproved, the hypocrisy and hollowness of placing upon the statute books a law which the State, that is, the people who enacted the law, did not intend to have enforced. It is a standing reproach, it seems to me, of a most serious sort. The task of securing the appropriation for employing a labor commissioner and factory inspectors is certainly, as a rule, not less difficult than the task of securing the passage of the original legislation.

Then the question of securing the appointment of men to that department who will be appointed to these offices with the expectation that they will enforce the law, and will be impartial and effective, is the next step, and perhaps, in very many instances, at least, is fully as difficult as either of the other two. You must have observed, not only in connection with child labor legislation, but in connection with so many other forms of social regulation, the fact that the last card of the party who is to be regulated

is to name the publicly appointed regulator, and to name a man or men who are not to be relied upon to perform that regulation for which the law was passed and for which they are appointed. That stage of our progress is one at which we cannot afford for one instant to relax our attention to what is going on in legislative chambers and executive offices.

As to the assistants and subordinates, and deputies in the state departments, may I contribute one bit of recent experience from the State of New York, still speaking in general terms, regarding our state administration? At times in the past we have been, as it were, compelled to choose between two things—between those appointed in the exempt class, without competitive examinations, who would be politicians; and others, appointed from a competitive examination list, who would not be fitted for the particular work in hand. How often have we hesitated between what seemed those two, and only those two, alternatives. We have discovered in the course of the past year or two, in our state service, a method of making competitive examinations actually tests of the qualifications of the persons who are examined to perform the duties for which the examination is held. That has been accomplished largely by two steps. First, by the action of the State Civil Service Commission in calling to its aid in the conduct of examinations persons who are themselves experts in the lines of work of those departments; in some instances men having some connection with the departments, but, as a rule, persons not in the same service, but fully informed as to that branch of the state service. Secondly, by having the examination in part an oral examination, intended not only to test the knowledge of the applicant, but to give full weight to his personal qualities, his personality, his experience, his attitude. There are limits beyond which the oral examination and the experts' assistance should not be carried, but they have contributed, I should say, more than any other one thing in the last two or three years in New York to reconciling those who have been working for efficient and specialized administration, and those who have been working for the extension of the competitive examination principle.

Beyond that phase of the subject we come to the question of court proceedings. Conferring with those engaged in the enforcement of laws, most of us have, I think, a rather uniform experience

of finding that the opinion is quite general that the particular law in question does not receive effective, intelligent, unbiased consideration at the hands of the lower courts. I speak not of Boston, or New England, because I know not the facts, but in regard to New York I am quite sure that I have stated the fact correctly. I also find that those who approach the question of the lower courts from any other point of view, such, for instance, as that of securing adequate support from negligent husbands, or any other one of half a dozen things which bring us before the courts, for social purposes, are apt to feel that their particular lines of effort receive very scanty, ineffective and fruitless handling in the courts; so that I am inclined to believe that the last part of our problem is part of a larger problem of reorganizing, perhaps of reconstituting, most of the lower courts that deal with these social questions. I venture the suggestion that we shall find our best line of progress in the specializing of the work of those courts; that just as we have secured a juvenile court for the trial of cases of children only, and are securing domestic-relations courts, to study and deal only with questions of domestic relations, and as we have now in New York a night court, which is practically a court for dealing with a single subject, so, perhaps, we must go still further in order to secure from the judges of those courts special treatment of the subjects from their social aspects, consistently with their legal aspects.

I would like to raise for consideration the question as to whether, generally speaking, the violation of child labor laws ought to be tried in the juvenile court, for there are evidently diverse tendencies in that regard, the major tendency at the moment, perhaps, being that offenses against children, as well as charges of offenses by children, should be tried in the juvenile court.

ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LAWS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

BY HON. E. J. WATSON,

Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries, South Carolina.

The real textile development in South Carolina did not begin until along in the eighties, and since that time it has been more rapid and substantial than any like development in any country. In this short space of time these plants have drawn natives and untutored labor from the fields until to-day the textile village population is about 120,000, and it is not to be wondered that we are now going through the same process which the State of Massachusetts experienced at a similar stage of development. It is not to be wondered that we have not yet as skilled operatives and consequently not as high a scale of wages on the face of it as you, for at our lower cost of living and in our balmy climate our scale perhaps nets the operative as much or more; it is not to be wondered that it took us in South Carolina until 1903 to enact a child labor law. It is not to be wondered that it took us until 1907 to get down to a sixty-hour-week basis; it is not to be wondered that it took us until the opening of the year 1909 to take the lead in the South and put in a complete system of factory inspection, designed to enforce the child labor laws, to look to sanitation and ventilation and the health and welfare of the people employed in our plants.

It is a matter of wonder, however, that notwithstanding the constant annoyance and wilful misrepresentation of so-called sociologists, taking no regard whatever of the conditions under which this great manufacturing development had been originated or the status or the character of the employees, or of the short space of time in which the development had occurred that we have reached the stage now, where, for one year, factory inspection and the enforcement of child labor laws have been in full operation with most beneficial results.

A number of our mill managements, though they have the right, under certain exemptions of the law, to employ the children of a "widowed mother," a "totally disabled father," or an "orphan

child," under the age of twelve, have voluntarily notified the state authorities that they had issued orders to their subordinates in their plants never again to employ a child under the age of twelve under any circumstances whatsoever. It is a wonder, also, that during the initial year of the enforcement of these laws and of the conduct of inspection, which has been careful and searching at all times, and without fear or favor, the State Department of Labor has managed to end the year without having made a single arrest and enjoying the hearty co-operation of employer and employee alike.

The year ends with a great increase in spindleage and in total operatives, yet with a marked decrease in female labor and an improvement in child labor conditions that could scarcely have been expected. I must respectfully submit that nowhere in this country, or in any other in the same length of time, has there been, under such circumstances, such a speedy adoption of legal restrictions and safeguard for all labor in the textiles, particularly women and child labor, as has occurred in South Carolina.

Furthermore, we have put into operation in South Carolina a system by which child labor is checked up, as complete in the details of its operation as can be found in any country. I say this boldly, in the light of full knowledge and experience in all manufacturing centers of Europe, and in the light of a knowledge of laws and systems prevailing on this continent. There is not an hour in the year when an inquirer coming to the central office of the State Department cannot examine the duplicate papers filed to cover every child employed in the textiles under the age of fourteen, papers covering the exemption, if there be one, the plant in which the child is employed, the plant in which he or she was first employed and the day of employment, and the date of every transfer from one mill to another that the child has made since going into employment. Likewise, the inspector upon going to the plant can examine the complete papers of every child and check them up; furthermore, he can walk up to the child in the mill and make the child produce the certification of compliance, permit issued from the central office, stating to the inspector the record of the particular case. Although we are enforcing these laws to the letter, and I have welcomed and aided every investigation of our textile industry conducted by the United States Government, or any other organization asking only a true and honest statement of facts, we find still certain, from-the-Pullman-car-window sociological tourists of the South

exploiting photographs of the worst of our cases—and I make no pretense to deny that we have some sore spots and some bad ones that we are removing as rapidly as we can to eradicate—sending to the world pictures of these worst cases and proclaiming them typical, judging the entire situation by rare and isolated cases. We find published to the world the picture of a child in a publication like *Harper's Weekly* only a few days ago with the inscription beneath that this child is working in a South Carolina mill twelve hours a day. It would be a prison offense for any manufacturer to work any child twelve hours a day in any vocation in South Carolina, and it would likewise be a prison offense for the parent of that child to permit it to work. I only wish it were a prison offense thus to impose upon a publication that regards its reputation for truth and honesty, and I wish it were my duty to prosecute the case.¹

We who are charged with the enforcement of the laws in South Carolina are anxious to see those laws amended to cover dangerous machinery and a great many other things, and I have recommended to our general assembly the repeal of the provision for children under twelve years to work during summer months, notwithstanding there were little over 500 to avail themselves of this privilege during the past year. I have further recommended the abolition of any exemption under the age of twelve and the enactment of a compulsory education law. I do not believe the time has come, under southern conditions,² when we can come to the flat-footed fourteen-year-old basis, but I believe the time is soon coming. I am convinced, as is Dr. Stiles, of the United States Service, that many of these children between the ages of twelve and fourteen are far better off to-day in the textiles with the protection thrown around them than they were in a poor rural home, or if permitted to run at large; but I am also convinced that a child living out on a good farm in South Carolina, or Georgia, or Alabama, or any other southern state right now, is enjoying healthy conditions that are probably 500 per cent. better than any mill village in the South.

¹ The article containing the photograph criticised bears evidence of having been prepared a year before it was published. The South Carolina Legislature of 1907 enacted a law gradually reducing the hours from 66 to 60 per week. The 66-hour week meant a 12-hour day for the first five working days of the week. The legislature of 1909, however, defined the 60-hour week as meaning not more than 11 hours in any one day, on the ground that the law of 1907 permitted employees to work more than 11 hours a day so long as they kept within the 60-hour week.—Ed.

² Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas and Oklahoma, among the southern states, have come to the "14-year-old basis."—Ed.

We feel that there is need and a good field for service for a child labor committee animated by honesty and sincerity of purpose, and to such a committee we will ever lend our aid. This sentiment animates a large number of our leading textile manufacturers who are at present engaged in substantial and beneficial welfare work, looking to the elevation morally, mentally and physically of their operatives, adult and child alike.

I am glad to come here now as the representative of the first strictly southern state government to establish a full department of the government under a state labor commissioner, and undertake actively the enforcement of laws upon the statute books which might otherwise be dead letters for the reason that the honest manufacturer, if the law is not followed and enforced, soon finds the dishonest man taking the labor by families when he has refused to employ a child of the family illegally. This very element of non-enforcement in a few weeks forces the honest manufacturer to violate the law, and the law becomes a dead letter.

There is no question of the need of a national and state child labor committee composed of patriotic people for the purpose of rendering aid to state authorities, charged with the enforcement of the laws for the protection of our human resources. Such an organization, designed to get at essential facts and present them conservatively, fairly and honestly to the law-making-power of the country, has a high mission, and one that should receive the hearty co-operation of every official in the United States. I certainly have never failed in the expression of a willingness to co-operate for the betterment of our conditions as to child labor.

The manufacturer in the South has placed himself upon record as favoring compulsory education, than which nothing could be of greater assistance in the enforcement of the law. If he be given a compulsory education law he will scarcely fight against a minimum age of fourteen years.

There are different ways of enforcing the law. Our experience has differed in many regards from that of many other states where manufacturing has had an older development. When our department undertook the enforcement of the laws curiously enough we found that the employees, being ignorant of the provisions of the law, we were having as much difficulty with those whom the laws sought to protect as with the employer. I believe the complete enforce-

ment of law, particularly of a sociological and industrial nature, is best accomplished with the aid and co-operation of employer and employee rather than with the antagonism of either or both.

Starting in a new field we determined to move conservatively and with firmness, first enlightening all parties concerned as to the laws' provisions, and we have not by the arbitrary use of legal powers endeavored to enforce a too sudden and violent change. The result has been that to-day we are enjoying an enforcement of our laws that is complete and is being conducted without antagonism of the parties concerned, knowing that the laws will be enforced, that the requirements must be met or that legal process will follow. An examination of the proceedings of the special commission of the International Association for Labor Legislation at Basel, Switzerland, shows that nearly all the chief features of the recommendations for the control of child labor are either embraced in our state laws or are covered by recommendations made by the department to the general assembly.

In South Carolina we have no industry competing with the textiles employing child labor, therefore our attention is confined almost exclusively to the textiles, though permits have been issued by the state department to twenty-six boys and girls under fourteen in cigar factories, four in mattress factories, and six employed as telegraph messengers. The office during the nine months of its operation has refused to issue permits for eighty-eight children under twelve years, though their papers had been passed upon by the county authorities. The inspectors, during the same period, upon their first tour of inspection of the mills, found 231 children, including the eighty-eight referred to, who could not qualify under the exemptions and ordered them peremptorily discharged. On the same trip they found 227 children between the ages of twelve and fourteen who had not complied and forced immediate compliance. Under our registered number system up to December 31, 6,332 permits were issued.

The year ended with a total number of 4,398 children under fourteen years of age at work holding permits, issued upon sworn documents. Ninety-seven of these were negroes. Permits were issued to 708 children under twelve years of age upon the special legal exemptions. This does not mean, however, that these 708 children are now in manufacturing plants. A number have since

become twelve years of age, and a number, while still possessed of their permits, are not at work but at school. It is indeed to be doubted if at this moment there are more than 600 children under twelve years employed in all lines of industry in South Carolina out of a population of about 120,000 operating workers. Of the 8,432 children employed on December 31, about 4,400 were between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, and the number of white women employed had decreased to 17,000 out of over 49,700 operatives. This takes no cognizance of the many children taken out of the mills, either by parents or superintendents, when the present law became effective and it was known that the mill would be inspected; nor of the number of young children who had been going into the plants with parents, sisters or brothers in order that they might be taken care of under what is generally termed the "helper system." Our instructions to the inspectors, manufacturers and employees were that all would be held alike responsible in the eyes of the law for any children not covered by legal papers and holding permits of certification found upon the floor of the mills or plants. It is, therefore, easy to be seen that, notwithstanding that the industry, so far as native employees are concerned, is only just about at the stage of development that Massachusetts was practically a half century ago, the firm and active enforcement of law, without harshness or undue rigidity, has brought about a marked improvement in conditions which I believe will be even more marked in the next twelve months.

I am interested deeply in the high purpose of the work of the National Child Labor Committee, but I have, perhaps, said enough. Some of the strong expressions I have used have not been directed to such an organization as this, but to those who would misrepresent or pick out sore spots and have the world judge the whole by them, stating conditions, not alone in South Carolina or Georgia or Alabama or in any of the southern textile territories, but in Pennsylvania and Maryland and Illinois, and even here in New England without regard to truth or the best interests of the nation. I sincerely trust that the day may come when in this nation we will see thoroughly established a broad system of education and the absolute elimination of child labor of every age, nature and description. Such labor as a child should do should not be performed for the hourly wage in order to swell family income, but should be upon lines of a non-

hands of the professional schoolman of the community. No school confining, voluntary and training character. The people of this country are gradually becoming aroused on this subject, and the National Child Labor Committee and its sub-committees have had considerable to do with it. May the work be continued conservatively, earnestly and honestly, and may the ultimate results be not too far in the future.

ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LAWS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

BY HENRY C. MORRISON,
State Superintendent of Public Instruction, New Hampshire.

The New Hampshire child labor law, in its inception, was an educational rather than a labor measure. In the nineties our people woke up to the fact that the percentage of illiteracy had greatly increased in the state during the preceding thirty years. Their attention centered upon this fact; they at once saw that one of the important causes was the employment of children who ought to be in school. It is doubtful if the child labor phase of the situation, as such, was first in the mind of any one, either in the legislature or outside. Their first thought was: these children must be in school; and, second, young children, moreover, ought not to be exploited for industrial purposes.

The law enacted in 1901 in substance provides that no child under the age of twelve years shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment or in any mechanical, mercantile or other employment; that no child under the age of fourteen shall be so employed while the public schools are in session; that no child under the age of sixteen shall be so employed unless he can produce a certificate from the local superintendent of schools certifying his ability to read and write legibly simple sentences in the English language, accompanied by an affidavit sworn before that officer that the child is of the age represented; and, further, no minor may be employed who cannot read and write legibly simple sentences in English unless he attends an evening or other school in which such branches are taught. The law gives the state superintendent of schools joint authority with the local school boards in enforcing the law, and authorizes him to employ deputies for that purpose.

Educational Test

The distinctive feature of the law is its educational test, both because its enforcement rests upon an educational test primarily, and because the certificate of educational fitness is left by law in the

board, or other local authority, can take away this authority from their superintendent and bestow it upon some other person. An exception to this rule is found in the city of Manchester, in which the statute specifically authorizes the city trustee officer to issue age and literacy certificates, but his office is at the school department, and his work is under the oversight of the local superintendent of schools.

The essentially valuable part of this feature of the law is in the fact that every certifying officer is a professional schoolman. His sympathies are decidedly on the side of the children, and his professional interests and reputation are intimately bound up with the proper performance of this part of his duties. Each superintendent is furnished from time to time with standard tests by the state education department. He is expected to interpret "ability to read" in the sense of ability to get the thought from the printed page. Naturally the interpretation of intelligent reading varies somewhat, but it undoubtedly does not vary so much as would be the case with men whose whole lives were not intimately related to educational work. The extent to which local superintendents apply for advice and instruction in interpreting this part of the law and its application to specific cases is evidence of good intention. To illustrate: A few weeks ago a man appeared in my office and stated that he wished a certificate to permit the boy who accompanied him to go to work. The boy was undoubtedly of legal age, and I referred him to the city superintendent. He replied that the city superintendent had refused to grant a certificate. Upon inquiry the latter reported his reason for refusing was that the boy could not read in the sense of understanding what he read, but that he would issue a certificate if I so instructed him. I gave the lad a simple newspaper selection to read, which he did with apparent fluency; but he was utterly unable in that case, or in several subsequent cases, to tell me what he had read. The city superintendent had very properly refused him a certificate. He received none and went back to school.

In one of our mill towns the local school board is at this time maintaining a special school for children fourteen years of age and upward who have not learned to read in the proper sense of the term, and they are not granted certificates until they have learned to read intelligently.

These two illustrations are fairly typical of the attitude of our school authorities.

Inspection by the School Department

The state education department's relation to the law is that of concurrent jurisdiction with the local officials. Local school boards are expected to enforce the law through local truant officers. Prior to 1905 there was no regular and systematic inspection by the state education department; there has been such since. The inspector is required to report daily to headquarters, on cards furnished for that purpose, the number of children of different classes found by him. He is also expected to follow up violations of the law, report to the department when they are corrected, apply the literacy test in all suspected cases, and work up evidence for prosecution. During the last few months the department has been able to employ its own prosecuting attorneys to good effect.

The state has no accurate data available to show the number of children employed in our manufacturing establishments prior to the enactment of the existing law. We know that immediately after its enactment there was a great influx of children into the public schools, so much so that it became necessary to increase school accommodations in nearly all our manufacturing towns. I recall one town particularly, of less than 3,000 inhabitants, in which it became necessary to build an entirely new grammar school to accommodate the children who came out of the cotton mills. On our first tour of inspection in 1905, 75 per cent. of the children employed were found to be properly certificated; in 1906 this percentage rose to 92 per cent.; in 1908 to 96 per cent.

A considerable number of children annually are illegally employed and escape detection. From the information which the department has been able to secure we feel pretty confident that in the state at large the percentage of these children is well within 10 per cent., and we propose to keep on whittling that down.

Industrially, our problem is almost entirely with textile manufacturers, and chiefly with the cotton industry. About one-third of our people live in towns whose chief industrial basis is textile work. In dealing with the situation in these towns, both state and local authorities have accomplished vastly more by what might be called a campaign of education among employers than by prosecution. Of late we have been prosecuting more, chiefly because we are getting down to the residue who are largely beyond persuasion. A great majority of the overseers in our mills are disposed to obey

the law, and infringements are more often inadvertent and careless, or technical, than wilful and real. There are, however, not a few exceptions, and with the incoming of south European labor there is probably some tendency for the padrone system to connect itself with the cupidity and grafting proclivities of some overseers. The attitude of the majority of employers is typified by a case reported for advice this week, in which the manufacturer for his own protection refused to admit a minor evidently well past the age of sixteen unless accompanied by a regular certificate of the local superintendent of schools.

Demonstrated Needs

Our experience has amply justified the following conclusions:

I. Local inspection is inadequate. The influence of evil-inclined employers is too apt to prove paralyzing. There ought to be local inspection, backed by state inspection and state control. State control, dependent upon judicial procedure, can never be efficient. For somewhat different reasons and in a somewhat different manner there ought to be a working federal control and standard laws and methods of procedure which the federal government can manage better than any state. It is essential that there should be substantial uniformity in legislation and enforcement. The character of the laws and their enforcement in the different states have a very important mutual relation. Thorough investigation by the federal government and comparative studies based upon the same oftener than once in ten years would have a very important standardizing effect, and, better still, would give a reliable means of checking up results in each state.

II. Approach to enforcement from the sociological standpoint. Factory inspection is curing the disease, but not preventing it. So long as there are people who raise children as they do cattle—for the money return—there will be a child labor problem. So long as social conditions are what they are, there will be a child labor problem. We can and ought to work toward an irreducible minimum through factory inspection, but no state is doing its full duty which is not securing the facts upon which to base a rational campaign for the betterment of conditions. The National Child Labor Committee has undoubtedly done a great deal of good in this very direction. But it can never hope adequately to cover this ground. It can render

its best service, as it is doing, by awakening people to an understanding of the situation and thus securing enactment of progressively more adequate laws. Every state office vested with the control of enforcement ought to have a staff of trained and capable sociological investigators, whose duties should be primarily to secure reliable and significant data of actual conditions, the study and interpretation of such data, and incidentally evidence for prosecution in the more difficult cases. It is highly important that such a staff be composed of persons really trained for the work and not merely of likely people who want a government job.

III. More than by any other one factor is the enforcement of the law made possible by an informed and enlightened public opinion. A law is little better than the paper upon which it is written unless it has a vigorous public opinion behind it. It is not sufficient that a majority of the legislature should have voted for our bill. It is essential that there should be a growing public sentiment behind the law enacted. This is old straw, but we are still inclined to forget the principle.

Many people think they are so far doing God and the country a service in raising a large family of children that they are entitled to lie back and let the children support them as soon as the oldest one can work. It is not necessarily because they are essentially vicious and evil people, but rather because they live in a state of society, or, rather, in a little eddy of society, in which that sort of thing is felt to be just and right. We all, no doubt, know men of entirely right lives and generous impulses, and even love for children, who believe that child labor agitation is not only cranky but pernicious. Such men honestly believe it is a good thing for a boy to go to work and earn some money. They do not differentiate as to age, sex and bodily condition, but in general their argument is this: "Some of our ablest and most successful business men, some of our greatest statesmen began that way. Let the child go to work if he wants to." You must overcome that attitude of mind before your child labor law will do its work as you want it done, and when you have succeeded in educating these two classes of people and others so that they will see the iniquity and enormity of the industrial exploitation of little children, then there will not be very much need of anti-child labor laws. That is what your National Child Labor Committee is doing and is the direction in which it can do its best work. I feel

confident that all officers of the law will wish you Godspeed upon that undertaking.

IV. Better schools. In the first place make the present schools more efficient. Just in proportion as the school is efficient, attractive and inspiring to children, just in that proportion do they desire to stay in school, and they commonly win their point. Just in proportion as the school is stagnant and dreary and a grind and meaningless, children desire to get out and get to work, and they usually carry their point. There is not much use advocating industrial education until we are sure we can teach what we are doing and teach it well—say, raise the standard of efficiency of the average to what is now the highest.

Then, so far as we can establish vocations in school, let us not be ashamed nor afraid to give the whole school and all the schools a vocational bent. That is what they have been for all time anyhow. The difficulty has been and still is that they point children toward a few vocations only. So far as better schools are related to the child labor problem, I submit that they are related to it chiefly in the direction of keeping children in school longer, and at the same time giving them a right vocational pointing. Specifically, the greatest single thing the public schools can do for child labor betterment to-day is to do their part in checking over-population of cities. Our whole educational scheme has and must have a vocational bent, but it is a bent which selects for a comparatively limited number of strictly urban occupations, and, so far as it is efficient at all, directs the children in that way. Every country academy and high school in New England, to say nothing of the rest of the country, has for three generations been saying to boys: "Aspire to be something else than a countryman. Get into the city. Perhaps you can be a great lawyer or banker, and if you cannot be that you can at least run a trolley. At any rate get into the city." A shift of the proportion of urban population from 3 per cent. to over 30 per cent. in one hundred years gives food for thought. One of our best, practical means for stopping such disproportionate concentration is an adequate country school—adequate because of efficiency in the work it attempts, and adequate because it shall tend to turn our boys and girls back to the farm. Whatever scheme can stop congestion of population will destroy both the necessity and the opportunity for the industrial exploitation of children.

V. A higher standard of efficiency in all public service, but particularly in those branches related to the problem of child labor prevention. Public service of all descriptions is so closely bound together, it is exceedingly difficult to secure permanent betterment except through general raising of the standard of efficiency. Take our public school service as an illustration—a branch of the public service which is intimately connected with your work. Individually our teachers are probably as efficient as can be found anywhere. It would certainly be difficult to find more inefficient teachers than some we have. It is useless to praise the efficient or to blame the inefficient. The critical point is: have we systemic efficiency or chaos? Secure an efficient organization of public school service and you can subsequently secure anything desirable and possible of accomplishment. Until you succeed in securing efficient organization, wave after wave of entirely legitimate desire for specific improvement will beat upon your public schools and be wasted for lack of any effective means of applying their force. A condition inevitably results in which we find ourselves in a state of enthusiastic public demand for a specific improvement, as, for instance, industrial education, only to find a subsequent movement supplanting the first before it has achieved its aim. Efficient organization spells administration by experts, supervision by experts, application by experts, and, above all, discipline and *esprit de corps* throughout the working body. Secure this condition in any branch of public service and all else shall be added unto you. Without it, it will take ages of evolution to achieve what you desire.

Evidence of Results

I should like to remind you of just one other principle—the futility of cross-section views. For the last ten years we have been taking cross-sections of almost everything visible in this country, the public schools and child labor included. The cross-section view gives us only the existing situation. The existing situation is always meaningless except in the light of the past. If we learn from the present situation that we are going backward, it is evidence that we need a searching of heart and a right-about-face. But if the existing situation shows that we are getting ahead, it ought to be inspiration and encouragement to keep on. In the last two or three years there has been a vast deal of more or less alarmist declamation about the

elimination of pupils from school. We have rightly associated the facts thus given with child labor and with vocational education. It is a fair question if we have not in some quarters, at least, been guilty of leaving an old job half finished to rush off on an entirely new undertaking. It is not true that children are getting less schooling than they were five or ten or fifty years ago. On the contrary, the number of children keeping right on through school, through the high school and through college is greatly increasing every year. The enrollment of children in American secondary schools increased between 1890 and 1900 about 150 per cent. The population increase for that time was about 21 per cent. The figures for 1910 will show that this ratio of gain has been kept up.

We were recently told that the New England states were in a bad way because the percentage of children entering our public schools who finish the eight years of common school life ranges from less than 50 per cent. in Connecticut to something over 70 per cent. in Maine. The figures are probably substantially correct, but viewed as isolated facts they have no significance. When you compare them with data given by the United States Commissioner of Education in 1903 and learn that for the country as a whole about 17 per cent. of the children who entered the first grade completed the eight grades, the figures look very different. Instead of indicating a revolution as a proper method of treatment, they indicate that we should keep on. If you take the United States Commissioner's report, or the reports of any state education department, you will find that so far as we can get at any facts at all, all tend to show that the length of time during which the average American child stays in school is increasing rather more rapidly than we have any right to expect. This increase in length of schooling has affected not only the native-born, but the foreign-born child. We find scores of foreign-born boys and girls in high schools to-day where practically none could be found even a decade ago. I cite these figures for two reasons. In the first place, because we have listened to so much lamentation over the way things are going; and, secondly, because it seems to me they have a most encouraging bearing upon the work of this National Child Labor Committee and upon the work of all organizations and people devoted to the cause of giving child-life in America the widest and largest opportunity. Here is evidence of results.

THE HEALTH OF YOUNG PERSONS IN MASSACHUSETTS FACTORIES

BY WILLIAM C. HANSON, M.D.,
State Board of Health, Massachusetts.

Probably few persons realize the scope and significance of the present opportunity for inquiring into the health of young persons in the factories of Massachusetts. It is not generally known that the work is done by physicians who are also hygienists—men familiar not only with industrial conditions, but to a great extent with all sorts of conditions and influences which affect or threaten to affect the public health. When the inspector finds in a factory a young person whose health is poor or whose physical condition is unfit for the work in question, he records facts concerning the child's health and conditions of employment, and advises intelligently whether the child quite unfit for one trade or process may be suited for another, or whether the child should be kept from factory work altogether. Being closely associated with the local health authorities, he confers with them, and, if necessary, assists in the enforcement of regulations to prevent the spread of disease. For example, if a young person in a factory is found to have tuberculosis or appears to be predisposed to that disease, or if the child's family history discloses a recent death from tuberculosis in the household, the inspector calls this fact to the attention of the local health authority, that an agent may visit the family to see that sanitary home conditions are maintained. In this way, unreported cases of tuberculosis have been brought to light.

The advantages of having for factory inspectors and medical advisers to minors, men familiar with local sanitary problems, in touch with local health officials, are proving so great that before long they will be clearly recognized by the public. Moreover, these medical inspectors, known as state inspectors of health, by reporting observations and facts to a central body—the State Board of Health—place it in position to acquire information relative to the sanitation of local communities throughout the commonwealth, including (1)

matters relating to water supplies and sewage, (2) the prevalence of diseases dangerous to public health in home, school house, factory or elsewhere, (3) sanitation of school houses and industrial establishments, and (4) information concerning the health of young persons in factories, *at their work*, and the influence of such occupation upon the health of these minors.

To collect data concerning the health of all young persons of each sex in the factories in Massachusetts is itself a task of considerable magnitude. To consider in addition the possible injurious influences to which minors are exposed in certain trades, occupations or processes, while at their work, makes even greater demands upon the inspectors' time. These facts, taken into consideration with the fact that the duties imposed on the health inspectors are varied, make it obvious that they are handicapped in their study of the health of young persons in relation to occupational diseases.

But were the health inspectors relieved from certain work, as for example, that of inspecting slaughter-houses and provisions, a duty clearly not intended to fall within their province when they were appointed state inspectors of health, there still would be a difficulty impossible to overcome without further legislation. I refer to the lack of proper places for physical examination of young persons whenever, in the opinion of a state inspector of health, such examination is advisable or necessary. This is the most serious handicap in connection with the work of the inspectors, not only because the absence of suitable places for examination of minors means inaccurate and incomplete data concerning their health, but because the absence of accurate and complete data means the impossibility of accurate statistical information to show either the percentage of minors in ill health in our factories, or the percentage of minors whose health is more or less affected as the probable result of injurious influences of different occupations or processes.

To be sure, there is another side to this question, as is shown by the very promising work already accomplished by the inspectors. These officials have obtained a considerable knowledge, and can, in the course of time, obtain full knowledge of the conditions of employment. They point out certain dangers which are avoidable, so that young persons may no longer be subjected to avoidable unhygienic influences; they point out dangers which, while not entirely avoidable, make the occupation unsuited to young persons; and,

finally, they brand as dangerous those processes and trades which from their nature are intrinsically dangerous to health, hence unfit to be followed by boys and girls under eighteen years of age. But with a law providing better convenience for examining young persons, in addition to the present opportunity of observing them at their work, the system would be complete, except for the limited appropriation for carrying out the statute provisions.

An examination of a young person ought to take into account and record general health, personal or family history if important, observations of the minor while at work, fitness for the particular kind of work done, age, sex, height and weight. Such examinations ought to be made with sufficient frequency which, in any trade or process, should not be less often than once a year, and in some occupations or processes, if permitted at all, not less often than twice or three times a year. Under existing conditions so thorough a system can only partially be carried out.

When conditions of ill health or of physical unfitness are discovered, aside from communicable diseases already considered, two courses are open to the health inspectors. They may inform the child's parents, or, if to the child's advantage, his employer. Many have been aided, if not completely relieved, by the willingness of an employer at the suggestion of the health inspector to change their work, and, in some instances, by the interest of employers in paying, in part, for treatment of children found in their employ afflicted with a disease like tuberculosis. On the other hand, in the absence of authority to exclude from factories young persons found in ill health or physically unfit, the parents of the children take but little notice of information and advice given them.

In the school, when such affections as pediculosis, scabies, blepharitis, trachoma, etc., are detected they are vigorously excluded until remedied. Why not in the factory? In the school each child's sight and hearing are tested annually. Why are not the sight and hearing of each young person in a factory tested annually and a judgment formed for each child based on the kind of work done and the conditions under which the work is done? Why should not children in factories receive even greater attention than those in our schools, when many factory children are exposed to influences far more inimical to health than the conditions to which school children are subjected in school rooms and for longer daily periods?

CHILD LABOR STATISTICS

BY FRED S. HALL,

Secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association.

Statistics have never won a child labor campaign, and they never will. But the campaigner who has no statistics is laying his cause open to discredit in the eyes of an important and increasingly influential part of our communities. Business men now wait eagerly for government crop statistics. In several cities to-day boards of trade are strenuously at work to get their suburbs annexed in order that their cities may rank high in the statistics of population to be gathered this coming summer. It is only the middle-grade man who sneers at statistics. The man of large affairs recognizes that accurate figures are essential to any important program, and such men will discount our program if we have only illustrations to offer.

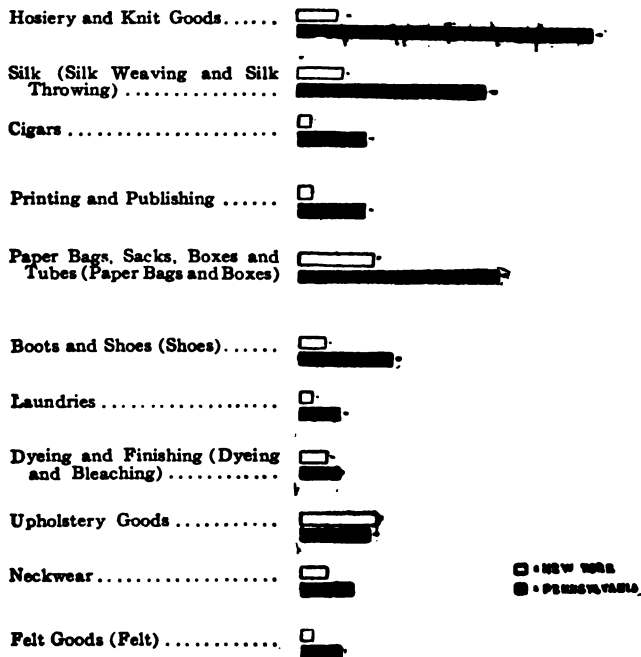
We need figures even before we begin our legislative campaign. Only by means of figures can we come to know our field—to know where investigation is most needed. Recently I had a month to investigate the local enforcement of our Pennsylvania law. I needed to know which were the thirty or more chief child labor centers in our state. No Pennsylvania statistics gave this important fact, and I was obliged to rely on the five-year-old figures gathered by the United States census. But even these demonstrated that it was worth my while to pass by the important city of Harrisburg and visit certain small boroughs south of it, where a much larger number of children were shown to be employed. The industries in those boroughs happened to be of the kind that commonly use child labor.

Similarly, if it is proposed to enact a 56, 57 or 58-hour law for women or children, it is extremely important to know how many establishments and what kind of establishments will be affected by such legislation and may, therefore, oppose it. Unfortunately, in most states no figures are collected and published on this point.

But it is when we try to arouse public opinion that figures

are most essential. A human-interest story is surest to attract general attention, but the convert most worth while discounts your story unless you can prove to him that it is not a selected case, but one of hundreds. In our last Pennsylvania campaign, we featured the coroner's verdict upon the death of a little nine-year-old boy, crushed between the jaws of a coal breaker, but we invariably displayed immediately afterward a chart showing for a coal-mining

PROPORTION OF CHILDREN IN THE LEADING CHILD LABOR INDUSTRIES OF NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA



town the number of its ten-year-old children who were in school; and, in black, the number working in the breakers and mills.

In order to refute the statements of our factory inspector, that children under fourteen were not being employed, we took his own figures of employed children, all of whom he asserted were between fourteen and sixteen, and compared these, industry by industry, with the children of the same ages the New York inspector

reported for *his* state. This showing left no room for controversy. In the manufacture of hosiery, for example, Pennsylvania's child-workers, reported as between fourteen and sixteen years of age, constituted 21 per cent. of the industry, contrasted with 3 per cent., the corresponding figure in New York state. Since the same differences, only to a less extent, were true in 11 out of 12 industries which could be compared, the conclusion was unavoidable that hundreds of our 11, 12 and 13-year-old children had been recorded statistically by the Pennsylvania inspectors as being between 14 and 16 years old, thus swelling the figures for those ages abnormally. In this way, the old false affidavit evil, usually referred to only by a series of illustrations, received statistical demonstration.

Statistical Schedule

The questions relating to child labor which demand statistical answers are so numerous that we would waste our time to-day if we attempted to consider more than two or three of them. But it is worth while, in my opinion, to state in barest outline what these various questions are, as a goal for future effort. In this outline it is assumed that the figures, to be complete, should be shown separately for each industry, for each state, and for each place with a population of 5000 or over.

- (1) How many persons (males and females shown separately) are at work?
- (2) How many boys and how many girls under sixteen years of age are at work?
 - a. In industries covered by the child labor law?
 - b. In all other industries?
 - c. How many, and of what ages, work during summer vacations in both the above groups of industries?
 - d. How many establishments in each industry use no children under 16, how many less than 10 per cent. children, how many from 10 to 20 per cent. children, how many over 20 per cent. children?
- (3) What processes in each industry are performed by children?
 - a. How many engaged in each process?
 - b. What share of the time standing or walking?
- (4) What wages do children get?

- a. What wages at the age of 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20?
- b. Do those who begin at 16 catch up with and go beyond those who begin at 14?
- (5) How many hours do adult males work?
 - a. On regular weekdays?
 - b. On Saturday?
 - c. On Sunday?
 - d. In course of the whole week?
- (6) What time does work begin and end?
- (7) How many establishments use night shifts, and for what proportion of the year?
 - a. How many boys and how many girls under sixteen work on night shifts at any time during the year?
 - b. At what hours do such boys and girls begin and end their night shifts?
- (8) How many violators of the child labor law and who are they?
 - a. How many prosecuted? Who are they? For what were they prosecuted?
 - b. How many were punished, who are they, and how punished?
 - c. How many children involved in violations?
 - d. How many for under-age work?
 - For work with no certificates?
 - For working over hours?
 - For night work?
- (9) How many accidents to all classes of employees?
 - a. In what establishments?
 - b. How old was each injured person?
 - c. How serious was the accident and how did it happen?
 - d. How many hours after the beginning of work did it happen?
- (10) How many children stop school each year (public schools and parochial schools shown separately) in order to work?
 - a. How old are such children on the school records?
 - b. How far advanced in school?
- (11) How many 10-year-old, 11-year-old, 12-year-old and 13-year-old children are there in the public schools, and how many in parochial and other private schools?

- (12) How many employment certificates are issued each year?
- How many applicants are refused?
 - What kinds of proof of age are accepted and how many of each kind?
 - What grade in school has been reached by the children who receive certificates?
- (13) How many children 8 to 14 years of age are shown by the school census?
- How many of each age?
 - How many of these found by a check-up with the enrollment books of public and parochial and other private schools to be attending some school?
 - How many attending no school?
 - How many of the latter accounted for as
 - Receiving satisfactory training at home?
 - Physically or mentally unable to attend school?
 - At work?
- (14) How many children found at work by truant officers and put into school?
- How many visits made by truant officers to places of employment?
 - How many parents prosecuted under the compulsory education law, how many punished, how and to what extent?
 - How many employers so prosecuted? How many punished, how and to what extent?

It will be years before we have satisfactory figures with which to answer all these questions. In fact, some will probably never be answered unless the proposed children's bureau bill is enacted.

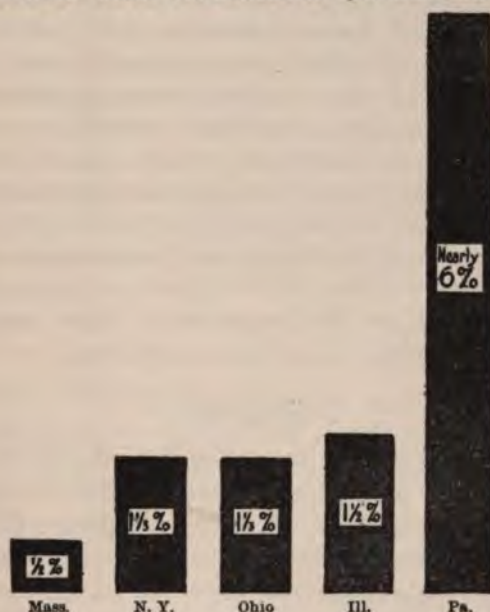
United States Census

Our most valuable and most complete source of information is, of course, the United States census. But this is taken completely but once in ten years, the mid-decade census being limited to factories. Moreover, the statistics of the mid-decade manufacturing census as to ages of children employed are very unreliable in states where parents' affidavits are accepted as proof of age, or where the factory inspectors are not honest or efficient. The great value of the general population census is, however, all too little appreciated, probably because the 1900 detailed figures were seven years late in being

published. I believe this conference might quite properly go on record declaring that the interests of the children of our country demand that such figures as these, when gathered this coming summer, be given to the public as quickly as possible after the census year, and not postponed, as was done with the 1900 figures, until after a series of special censuses has been taken, compiled and published.

The population census is superior to the census of manufac-

TWELVE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN REPORTED BY THEIR PARENTS TO BE
AT WORK WHEN THE CENSUS OF 1900 WAS TAKEN



tures for child labor purposes, because its figures record the truth, in most cases, as to children's ages, and so reveal how much our child labor and compulsory education laws have been evaded.

The census taker, in the course of his rounds, sits down—usually with the mother—and records the ages of all members of the family, from the grandparents down. Comparatively few parents remember, when they give these ages, to be consistent with

the false ages they gave when they put their boys and girls to work, and these figures are therefore fairly close to the facts. A diagram recently published by the Pennsylvania Association shows the rank of our five chief manufacturing states in 1900 according to this testimony of the parents. Massachusetts stood first with but one-half of 1 per cent. of its 12-year-old children evading the law, while in Pennsylvania, through their parents' perjury, or through the connivance or laxity of inspectors or truant officers, 7064, or nearly 6 per cent., of all 12-year-old children, were illegally at work in factories, stores, offices, mines or breakers.

The population census, moreover, tells us for cities no larger than Utica, Troy or Peoria, just how many boys and how many girls were at work in each form of industry, thus including domestic servants, office boys, etc., usually not recorded in factory inspectors' statistics. It shows us also whether these are native or foreign children, and whether they are white or colored.

But because of the infrequency of the federal census, it is to the state reports that we must usually look for our figures. Here we are met, in several important states, with an unfortunate division of the field—two or three different state departments, each gathering and publishing a portion of the figures we need—the chief inspectors of factories, the chief inspectors of mines and the bureaus of industrial statistics.

State Reports

The inadequacy of most factory inspectors' reports was pointed out in a paper read at the Child Labor Conference a year ago by Commissioner John Williams, of New York state. The writer can say what Mr. Williams' modesty forbade, *i. e.*, that the figures his bureau publishes leave very little to be desired.

The fundamental figures which all factory inspectors' reports should be induced at once to show are not numerous. They relate to the number of men, women, boys and girls employed, the places, industries and hours of employment, violations discovered, prosecutions instituted, with their results, and the accidents which befall adults and children.

The only difficulty involved in gathering and classifying such statistics is presented by the industry classification. This is also the most important point of all. Almost all our state labor laws

are different in scope, some being limited to factories, while others include one or more of the following: Stores, offices, messenger service, etc. It is thus impossible to compare the figures of one state with those of another unless the various industries in each state are shown separately.

The classifications used must also be uniform, which adds to the difficulty, for uniformity can be gotten only by joint action on the part of various state bureaus. It is the writer's opinion that this conference may quite properly take the first step looking toward such joint action. It is suggested that a committee be appointed to communicate with the president of the International Association of Factory Inspectors and the president of the Association of Bureaus of Statistics, asking if they will appoint representatives of their associations to confer jointly with a committee appointed by this conference as to the possibility of greater uniformity in published statistics. It is probable that such a joint committee could secure the presentation of papers embodying its conclusions to the conventions of these associations next summer. If the committee's recommendations were ratified by these conventions, it should not require a great deal of urging by local committees to secure their adoption in the various states.

Employment Certificates Issued

Two other of the questions listed above may be referred to to-day—the statistics of employment certificates issued, and the statistics which record the enforcement of the compulsory education law. The former extremely important figures are very generally lacking, even Massachusetts, the leader in so many good things, telling us nothing as to this. The difficulty is that the issuance of employment certificates is usually in the hands of school officials, often without any legal requirement that records shall be kept; with the result that very imperfect records, if any, are kept by local officials, and probably none are published unless the state department of education requires such figures to be reported to it for insertion in the state report. All state departments of education should have the importance of requiring such statistics presented to them by representatives of the various state child labor committees. In Pennsylvania recently, quite without legal enactment on this point, our state superintendent has required a stub record of certificates

issued, and has instructed local officials to record also on these stubs the kind of proof of age they accept in regard to each child. It is hoped that next year figures covering these points will be collected and published by the state department. If this is done, Pennsylvania will have the honor of being the only state to make public record of the number of its children who start each year to work, and of the proof on which it relies in its belief that these children are really over 14 years of age.

Proof of Age

There is hardly a more difficult question in our whole field of work than this one—proof of age. New York City has demonstrated the possibility of getting reliable records of age without using even the school record. The New York law does not allow an affidavit in any case. A folder published by the National Committee, entitled "Proof of Age," shows that for one recent year only 2 per cent. out of 22,423 applicants were unable to bring an acceptable record of their age. The law provides that in such cases age may be settled by the certificates of two out of three physicians, who quite separately give the applicants a physical examination. This possibility of getting real records of age is a fact which few appreciate. Many officials who issue certificates refuse to believe that such a thing is even approximately possible in their communities. As a result, certificates are frequently issued to children on the basis of a mere pencil entry on a teacher's enrollment book, an entry which probably shows only how many years old the child was on a certain date (months being neglected), and thus may be as much as eleven months out of the way; an entry, furthermore, frequently made merely on the basis of what the child states to its new teacher as its age at the first of each school year, without comparison having been made with the age recorded a year before to see if a year has not been purposely skipped. Or, worst of all, it may be that the certificate is issued on the basis of a parent's affidavit. Unless some interested persons follow up this work, the ordinary official who issues certificates will quickly slip into the habit of accepting the parent's claim that a birth or baptismal certificate or similar record cannot be procured, and will issue practically all the certificates on the basis of either school

records or affidavits. Miss Ward's paper¹ will show how this has happened in the city of Boston, in plain violation of the law. If the ages of children, as recorded on the school books in Boston are, as they are now getting to be in New York, a permanent record, showing the exact date of birth, and if this record is itself based on birth certificates, baptismal certificates or other records presented when the children first entered school, the let-down in the law has of course been negligible. But it is easy to believe that no such careful school records of age exist in schools located in the small industrial villages in Massachusetts, and if the same methods of issuing certificates have been followed in such places, there must have been evasions of the law. But it is impossible to know what is being done, for no statistics are published. Miss Ward's figures meant weeks of research and tabulation. Here is another problem for state committees to grapple with.

The difficulty of proving age will be reduced to its lowest terms when the same efforts are made in this country to compel the recording of births as is customary in Europe. We are still far from that ideal.

Compulsory Education Statistics

In conclusion, let me speak of the compulsory education laws and the general subject of school statistics. These laws, in my opinion, are far above all child labor laws as a protection to children. The schools have the children in their grasp. They can, if they will, make sure of their ages. It is simply a problem of holding them. Factory inspectors must find the children, and those who do not want to be found usually are not found. But whether our schools are holding their children up to the legal age is something on which school statistics are practically silent. The treasurer of a corporation whose cash account failed to show how much was received during the year and how much was spent, would be instantly discharged. If his defense was merely this, that he showed how much was on hand at the close of last year and how much again at the close of this year, he would be a candidate for custodial care. But this is what practically all the treasurers of our children—our school superintendents—are doing. They tell us merely the number of children enrolled at the ends of successive

¹ Miss Ward's paper was not submitted for publication.

school years. What they should tell the public, as trustees of its children, and with a responsibility under the compulsory education law, is

(1) How many children, 8-16, were enrolled in the public, private and parochial schools of the city at the end of last year.

(2) How many new ones of these ages were added during this year (either by entering the schools or by arriving at the age of eight).

The total of these groups represents the school's receipts—to be accounted for thus:

(1) How many children, 8-16, were excused from further attendance on the following grounds:

a. Reached the age of 16.

b. Reached the age of 14 and began to work legally.

c. Moved out of the city.

d. Left school because physically or mentally unable to attend longer.

e. Left school to be instructed privately.

f. Died during the year.

(2) How many children, 8-16, are still enrolled at the end of the year.

The total of these two classes, when compared with the two preceding, should show all present or accounted for. No school report, to my knowledge, pretends to offer such a compulsory education cash account as this. Parochial schools are usually neglected altogether, the fact being overlooked that, in enforcing compulsory education, boards of public education have in most states explicit authority over parochial schools given to them by the legislature.

Age and Grade Statistics

Without waiting for the ideal figures just outlined, a great deal can be accomplished if school officials can be persuaded to count their children of each age and publish their figures. If these can be made to include parochial school and other private school children, and if they show a considerably smaller number successively in the 10, 11 and 12-year-old groups, something must be wrong. Of course it is normal in any community for the number of children of lower ages to exceed somewhat those of higher ages. But it can easily be shown from census figures that this variation

is not great—the difference between the 12-year-olds and the 13-year-olds, for example, varying between 1 per cent. and 5 per cent. in our chief manufacturing states.¹ In contrast to this, Mr. Ayres,² from his study of 58 cities, concludes that 10 per cent. leave school by the time they are 13 years old. Dr. Thorndike,³ in a study of 25 cities, concludes that “of 100 in school at the age of 8 years, nine leave while only 12 years old, and 18 while 13 years old.” City school reports are increasingly publishing “age and grade” tables of the kind used by these writers, and these, with proper allowance for children transferred to parochial schools, can readily be used in order to learn if the compulsory education law is really being enforced.

School Census

There is one other statistical record—the school census—which is fundamental to a proper enforcement of the compulsory education law. If this is a real census, it will disclose a number of children who ought to be in school, but are not, chiefly those who have escaped the truant officers in some way during the year, but also a considerable number of children who have moved into the city from elsewhere, or who have just reached the compulsory age—usually 8 years. But if the school census is a farce, its absurdity will be revealed by the fact that the total number of children it records as living in the city will be less than the number reported by the superintendent as enrolled in the schools.

Almost every compulsory education law calls for a school census, and it is chiefly because practically no states, and very few cities, publish the results of their censuses, that their ordinary worthlessness is not apparent. Miss Ward's test in Massachusetts

¹Unfortunately, the United States Census does not show these figures for cities. For the five chief manufacturing states the figures were as follows in 1900 (Census of 1900, Vol. II, Table 2).

	12-year old children.	13-year old children.	Per cent of decrease.
New York	128,640	122,528	4.7
Pennsylvania	123,420	121,897	1.2
Illinois	98,553	94,067	4.5
Ohio	81,638	81,053	.7
Massachusetts	45,695	44,333	2.9

²“Laggards in Our Schools,” by Leonard P. Ayres, page 28.

³“The Elimination of Pupils from School,” by Edward L. Thorndike (U. S. Education Bul. No. 379, page 27).

had to be based on unpublished figures. Illustrations of the same sort could also be multiplied by the writer from figures gathered by means of a schedule privately sent to all Pennsylvania superintendents. Full school census figures ought to appear in every school report. When they begin to show an excess over the school enrollment, school officers should be asked to account for that excess—the number not in any school—to show how many of these were exempt because they were feeble-minded or privately tutored, and how many were actually placed in some school. Mr. Whittemore will tell of some of the methods he has employed to make his school census one of the few which, in my opinion, fulfills the purpose of the law.

Statistics must be handled with great care. This is as true of child labor statistics as of any other. One may easily blunder in using them and be subjected to criticism for attempting to exaggerate conditions. I think I am justified in saying that the secretaries of the National Committee stand ready at any time to advise, as far as they can, with any who are attempting, for the first time in their own localities, to make use of figures which their local or state officials have gathered.

PROOF-OF-AGE RECORDS

BY MISS JEANIE V. MINOR,

Agent of New York Child Labor Committee at the Board of Health.

The great increase in the issuance of employment certificates may be readily seen by a comparison of the numbers granted in 1908 and 1909. In 1908 there were issued in New York State approximately 28,000 certificates, of which 24,000 were issued in New York City. In 1909, 30,000 were issued in New York City alone.

As far as proof of age is concerned, it has been held that the birth certificate is the most satisfactory proof of age to be obtained. When the new law went into effect, requiring the evidence of age to be taken in a prescribed order, and placing the birth certificate first on the list, it was thought by many that not enough birth certificates could be obtained to make the rule worth while. Experience has shown, however, that of the 30,000 certificates issued in 1909, seventy-five per cent. were based on birth certificates. This result has been obtained simply because of strict adherence to the rule that either a birth certificate must be procured or the applicant must satisfy the officer issuing the employment certificate that the birth has not been recorded, or that an effort has been made, without success, to procure it. This applies to foreign as well as to native-born children. Of course, it is a recognized fact that in certain parts of Russia, owing to the destruction of Jewish records, birth certificates cannot be secured, but wherever records are available they must be obtained if possible.

The National Child Labor Committee, through the co-operation of the State Department at Washington, has compiled and published a pamphlet of directions for obtaining birth certificates from all foreign countries. As a result, foreign-born children applying for employment certificates, receive carefully worded instructions, telling how, where and to whom to send for a birth certificate, and the amount of the legal fee required in each case. They are also told to register the letter, and if the birth certificate is not received at the end of six weeks to return with the registry receipt. This

receipt is the proof of endeavor to comply with the law, and the next form of evidence is then accepted.

The evidence of age next in order of precedence is the diploma or graduation certificate which can only be used as evidence if the school register shows the child to be at least fourteen years of age.

Third in order come the baptismal certificates and the passport. There are two kinds of passports, one giving the date of birth of the child, in most cases correctly; the other giving simply the age of the child at the date of issuance of the passport. Here the true age is generally suppressed and a lower age substituted, as cheaper passage rates are thereby secured.

Parents' Affidavit Worthless

Under the fourth heading, known as "other documentary evidence", come all kinds of miscellaneous proofs of age, which, however, must be based on genuine documentary proof. The affidavit of the parent has been absolutely barred out as evidence, experience having proven in New York, as in other states, that the incentive back of this form of evidence renders it thoroughly unreliable. The affidavits of "disinterested parties having knowledge of the birth" have also been excluded as evidence, as it was found necessary to prosecute two of these disinterested parties for perjury, they having sworn that the boy in question was over fourteen, and the boy's birth certificate, obtained a month later from Austria by the New York Child Labor Committee, proving him to be six months younger.

Confirmation certificates, family Bibles, insurance policies, hospital records, records of relief societies, immigration records, court records, asylum records and many other documentary records are accepted as evidence of age, but in all these cases the evidence must be submitted to the Board of Health before the employment certificate can be issued.

Where no evidence of any kind can be secured, the New York law provides that the age of the child may be determined by a physical examination, such examination to be made separately by two medical inspectors of the department of health. But in order that this may be used only as a last resort, the law requires that ninety days must elapse from the date of the application before the examination shall be given, so that the child will make every

effort to secure other evidence during that period. If granted immediately upon application, no such effort would be made. In 1908, four hundred and six of these applications were filed and thirty-seven subsequently withdrawn on other evidence, seventeen having secured birth certificates.

In New York State birth certificates may be obtained from Albany without charge if required for employment certificates. In the capital of New Jersey the fee charged is ninety cents—well nigh a prohibitive price for the very poor. Should not these fees be remitted there and in other states in any case where the birth certificate of a child is a legal requirement?

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THE PROVIDENCE SCHOOL CENSUS SYSTEM

BY GILBERT E. WHITTEMORE,
Chief Attendance Officer, Providence, R. I.

A school census has been taken for many years in several states. In Rhode Island cities and towns, for more than forty years, an annual census has been taken, in January, of all children from five to fifteen years of age, inclusive.

Of late, the school census has come to be regarded as an excellent aid in determining the thoroughness of execution of compulsory attendance laws and laws regarding child labor, and in measuring the necessity for additional schoolhouses and teachers. Yet if this census is slovenly taken, and is to any great extent incomplete, it becomes misleading and worse than useless for these purposes.

When we assumed, in Providence, some fifteen years ago, the supervision of taking the school census, a casual inspection of returns of enumerators convinced us that it was incomplete. For many years our registrar of births has been in a marked degree energetic in his work. Aided by laws requiring physicians and midwives to report all births and providing for fees for the performance of their duties, and by a semi-annual census of births, his record of births is remarkably correct. A study of the birth and death returns, and other available data, led us to believe that the school census enumeration was fully six per cent. less than it ought to be, and in a thorough investigation which we instituted, more than five-sixths of the loss we had estimated, we found, had been omitted in the enumeration.

In considering the matter, we came to believe that the enumerators were honest, and that their failure to obtain a complete census came from the difficulty of obtaining full reports from parents and from failing to discover unusual places of abode. Many janitors and watchmen were found living in business blocks and recent immigrants in deserted workshops and buildings.

The refusal of parents to give full information was and continues to be the most potent difficulty. Some persons, while fulfilling their parental duties of care and education, have an ardent

hatred of governmental inquisition, and resent census inquiries as trenching upon their personal concerns. Many persons evade these inquiries, fearing some ulterior design for restricting their control of their children, especially in matters of employment. Some, if they can satisfy the enumerator by reporting two of their five children, chuckle over the smart trick by which they have saved time to return to more congenial occupations. Many parents who are keeping older children at home to care for younger ones, will refuse to report such children for fear they will be ordered into school.

The danger from an incomplete school census is that a large majority of children not enumerated are precisely the children for whose benefit attendance and labor laws are enacted. If we could have the enumeration of the missing, we could afford to do without the enumeration of the others.

To meet these difficulties as far as possible, we adopted a plan which, with slight modifications, has been followed since, and has, we believe, been efficient and profitable in many ways. This is what we call our preliminary census. As necessary to its success, the truancy laws were so amended as to require from all private schools precisely similar reports regarding attendance of pupils as were required from public schools, also to require all employers of children under sixteen years to report complete lists of such children and their addresses to the truant officer upon his request—not oftener than twice a year. We also diligently endeavored to create such a disposition among teachers and police officers as would lead them to cheerfully disclose to the truant officer names and addresses of all children known to them to attend no school. Not only have we secured such assistance from teachers and officers, but it is not uncommon for citizens to report children moving into their neighborhood and not attending school. If it is clearly understood that no harsh methods without adequate relief of distress or poverty will be taken in the compulsory processes applied to these cases, such reports will be full and adequate.

About the middle of each December, teachers in public and private schools are requested to report on slips all children belonging to their schools, with such details of additional information required; employers of children are requested to report all children employed by them; the names of all children holding working cer-

tificates are copied upon slips; the names of all Providence children in homes or reformatories are similarly copied, and a request is made to all teachers and pupils for names of children who for any reason do not attend school.

All names and addresses so obtained, properly copied upon slips, are then sorted and arranged by addresses. When the enumerator begins his work in January he is furnished with a street book of his territory showing how many children should be found in every tenement at any given number of any given street. If he reports he cannot find as many children at any place as were indicated, a hunt for the missing children is instituted from the office.

When the house-to-house enumerators have returned their slips, they are arranged, examined and tabulated according to the provisions of the law. All children returned by enumerators, except new five-year-olds, not previously known to us, are immediately located and proper action taken. We make the following tabulations of each census:

Number of boys enumerated.

Number of girls enumerated.

Total enumerated.

Number attending public schools.

Number attending Catholic schools.

Number attending other private schools.

Number attending no school.

Class I. Children five years old, admitted only to kindergartens in the public schools.

Class II. Children six years old, admitted to primary schools, but attendance not compulsory.

Class III. Children seven years old and under fourteen, attendance compulsory.

Class IV. Children fourteen years old, whose attendance at school is compulsory unless lawfully employed, or unless they have completed the course of study of primary and grammar schools.

Class V. Children fifteen years old, whose attendance is not compulsory.

In each of the classes is given the total number enumerated; number attending some school; number attending no school; number attending only part of the year and average number of months' attendance; percentages and comparisons with previous year.

A tabulation is also made by wards and sexes.

The children of compulsory attendance ages reported as attending no school comprise graduates of grammar schools who do not care to attend, cripples, chronic invalids, feeble-minded and those who have escaped the truant officer and the school authorities. We compel attendance of the deaf at our institute for the deaf. The blind are cared for by the state at the Perkins Institute in Boston. We hope soon to be able to care for all feeble-minded at our state school, recently established. The percentage of this class last year was reported as 1.2. A careful scrutiny of the report last year disclosed only thirty-four who had escaped the truant officer and school authorities, and they were immediately sent to school.

As lawfully bound, we report as authoritative returns of the school census only information given to the enumerators at the homes of the children; when found to be incorrect, corrections are made at the homes upon second call.

The one great defect of the school census is that ages are given only in years. We have not yet succeeded in getting the state to ask for the date of birth instead of "years old", perhaps from fear that the enumerators might get entangled in arithmetical snarls or that clerks might be unable to make tabulations.

It is very important that persons employed in school census work should be as experienced and skillful as possible and familiar both with their work and their field. We make only such changes in our force as necessity requires. Our clerks are skilled in working with names, streets, wards and tabulations, and our enumerators are almost constantly employed in work on other censuses, poll tax, births, militia, etc., and in work on voting lists and directories. In some cases they are versed in the languages of the foreign-born in their sections, and whenever it is necessary we provide competent interpreters to others. Nearly all of the present force have been many years in the service, and no vacancies have ever been filled through political influence.

At the present time there are three important fields of statistical work which come under the jurisdiction of this bureau according to the law prescribing its duties, but according to other laws a collected and published by other departments, viz., statistics of industrial accidents and employment of children now under the

THE MASSACHUSETTS BUREAU OF STATISTICS¹

BY FRANK S. DROWN,
Chief Statistician, Labor Division, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics.

The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor was the first of its kind to be established in this country, and, I believe, in the world. Its duties were prescribed in the act providing for its establishment, passed by the legislature of 1869, to be "to collect, assort, systematize and present in annual reports to the legislature, statistical details relating to all departments of labor in the Commonwealth, especially in its relations to the commercial, industrial, social, educational and sanitary condition of the laboring classes, and to the permanent prosperity of the productive industry of the Commonwealth."

For many years the Bureau's energies were directed to investigating and making reports upon questions having an intimate relationship with what we commonly understand as the problem of capital and labor. It was during this earlier epoch that the Bureau was given its great renown by the late Carroll D. Wright, whom we have all come to esteem and venerate as one of the greatest of American statisticians.

The first formal extension of the self-imposed limitations of the functions of the Massachusetts bureau came in 1889, when it was directed by the legislature to collect annually statistics of manufactures, a work which, while it may properly be included in the term "labor statistics," was, nevertheless, taken up from a somewhat different point of view. The gathering of those statistics has been continued annually since the date mentioned, and several of the state bureaus have followed the example of Massachusetts in this respect.

At the present time there are three important fields of statistical work which come under the jurisdiction of this bureau according to the law prescribing its duties, but according to other laws are collected and published by other departments, viz., statistics of industrial accidents and employment of children now under the super-

¹This report has necessarily been abbreviated by the omission of several paragraphs.

vision of the district police, and the vital statistics of births, deaths, marriages, divorces, etc., under the supervision of the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

In 1909 the name of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor was changed to the Bureau of Statistics.

The regular permanent work of the bureau at the present time is distributed among four distinct divisions:

The labor division.

The manufactures division.

The municipal division.

The free employment offices division.

During the period of taking and compiling the census, a fifth, the census division, is organized.

The labor division collects, tabulates and analyzes material for the annual report on the statistics of labor, which is devoted to statistics of strikes and lockouts, changes in rates of wages and hours of labor, labor organizations, the extent of employment of the organized wageworkers, prevailing rates of wages and trade agreements. This division also conducts special investigations and makes inquiries into matters of current interest, the results of which are published in the Labor Bulletin.

The appropriation made by the legislature for the general statistical work of the bureau for 1909 was \$59,570. The aggregate appropriations for all the work of the department was \$80,570. The number of persons on the payrolls of the bureau in December, 1909, exclusive of the director and chief clerk, was fifty-eight, of whom forty are permanently and three temporarily employed in connection with the general statistical work of the bureau, while fifteen are employed permanently in the free employment offices.

In closing this survey of the work of the bureau I should like to read an extract from an address delivered by Hon. E. Dana Durand, Director of the United States Census, before the American Statistical Association, at New York, on December 29, 1909, as the United States census of Massachusetts, the largest single supervisor's district in the country, will be, as has been the custom during the censuses of 1880, 1890, and 1900, under the supervision of the director of this bureau:

"In connection with the changes made in the population schedule with reference to the return of occupations, attention may be called

to the changes in the instructions with regard to reporting the gainful occupations of children. The widespread agitation as to child labor makes it desirable that the statistics on this subject should be placed on a more scientific basis than has been done in past censuses. Important as it is that the abuses of child labor should be done away with, it is nevertheless essential that the extent of child labor in this country should not be exaggerated. The danger of such exaggeration arises principally in connection with those children who work for their own parents. A very large proportion of the children of the country, and particularly of the children of farmers, are employed more or less of the time outside of school hours and during school vacations in assisting their parents on the farm, in the shop or store or in housework. To distinguish between those whose employment in such a way is sufficiently extensive to justify reporting them as having a gainful occupation, and those whose work is too unimportant or discontinuous to justify classifying them as gainful workers, is very difficult. It seemed desirable to adopt a somewhat arbitrary rule and to instruct enumerators to report children who work for their parents as gainfully occupied only in case they work for at least half of the year. This instruction may possibly result in reducing the number of children reported as gainfully occupied, though this is by no means certain; but it seems far better to have a definite basis for classification than to leave it, under vague instructions, to the variable judgment of enumerators.

"I may also note that in the case of children who work for their parents on farms, which is perhaps the most common form of child labor, we will instruct the enumerators to designate them as 'farm laborers, home farm,' in order to distinguish them from those who work for other employers, who will be designated as 'working out.'"

CHILD LABOR IN STREET TRADES

BY EDWARD N. CLOPPER,
Ohio Valley Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

It is gratifying to all those interested in this phase of child labor to note the gradual change in the attitude toward the child on the street. At the fifth annual conference on child labor, an impromptu meeting was held at which the subject was briefly discussed. At this present conference the subject has attained to the dignity of having a section meeting assigned for its consideration. Next year we hope a general session will be devoted to this interesting and important department of child welfare work.

The facts and figures given in the tables below are the result of efforts to accumulate and put into shape available for use, all the information concerning the work of children in the street trades that could be collected in a short time, and was of such a nature that it could be presented in tabular form.

Street trading, with reference to children, embraces not only the sale and distribution of newspapers and periodicals, but also peddling of various articles, sale of merchandise in the markets, polishing of shoes, accompanying beggars and lighting of street lamps. The messenger and delivery services, including special delivery service of the postoffice, are regulated by law in all but nineteen states; consequently, when the term "street trades" is used it is understood to include only the ordinarily unregulated trades of bootblacking, peddling and selling newspapers and periodicals. In the tables accompanying this report, all mention of messengers and delivery boys has been omitted.

The figures for New York City are now nearly three years old, and consequently not to be depended upon to represent present-day conditions; but, as the situation in that city has not changed much in the intervening time, they serve as an indication of what exists to-day. The fact that many boys under the age of ten years persistently engage in street trades in New York City, shows that the state law is not enforced there. All figures relating to New York were obtained from a leaflet setting forth the results of an

investigation undertaken by the New York Child Labor Committee, entitled "Child Labor on the Street—The Newsboy."

NEWSBOYS BY AGE GROUPS.

<i>New York City</i>		<i>Cincinnati</i>	
Young Newsboys Without Restriction September, 1906		Licenses Issued July-December, 1909	
Under 8 years	38	10 years	303
8 "	39	11 "	348
9 "	75	12 "	425
10 "	93	13 "	398
11 "	175	14 "	298
12 "	130	Total	1772
13 "	121		
Over 14 "	88		
Total	759		

The following table shows the distribution of the newsboys of Cincinnati among the various grades of the schools. It is pleasing to note that all licensed newsboys under fourteen years of age are attending school.

CINCINNATI NEWSBOYS—SCHOOL GRADE

Under 14		Fourteen Years and Over	
First grade	6	Second grade	1
Second grade	50	Fourth grade	1
Third grade	210	Sixth grade	7
Fourth grade	364	Seventh grade	23
Fifth grade	359	Eighth grade	15
Sixth grade	318	High school	38
Seventh grade	241	Night school	2
Eighth grade	165	Parochial school	12
High school	39	Trade school	2
Total	1752	Business school	4
		Total	105
		Out of school	65

The figures given for Cincinnati were furnished by the Newsboys' Protective Association, the manager of which issues permits for street trading to children there. As the figures were compiled from the records of permits issued, no boys under the age of ten are included, as this is the minimum age limit; there are, however,

quite a few children under ten at work on Cincinnati's streets. These figures do not include bootblacks or peddlers, as the officer issuing permits learned only recently that such children also were required to be licensed. It was found that permits were being issued to Cincinnati newsboys of all ages from ten to twenty years, although the local ordinance provides for their issuance only to boys between the ages of ten and fourteen years.

The next table shows the general home condition of Cincinnati newsboys. The assumption that most newsboys are unfortunate children who are obliged, because of orphanage, to support themselves by selling newspapers, is here shown to be without foundation. The fact that only 363 out of the entire number were working because their earnings were really needed by their families, is a further proof that street trading in the majority of cases is not necessary. This conclusion is supported also by the figures representing the home conditions of the boys in the Boston Suffolk School. All figures relating to Boston were secured from Mr. Philip Davis, supervisor of licensed minors for that city.

NEWSBOYS—FAMILY

	<i>Cincinnati</i>	<i>Boston</i> Suffolk School
Number under 14 with both parents dead.....	12	6
Number under 14 with father dead.....	324	25
Number under 14 with mother dead.....	69	19
Number under 14 with both parents living.....	1517	75
Number under 14 whose earnings are needed,	363	

Five thousand boys, 11 to 18 years old, in street trades in Boston, but no girls. They are newsboys, bootblacks, peddlers, woodpickers and food scavengers.

Italians monopolize peddling and predominate in bootblacking in Boston, while most newsboys are Jews.

NEWSBOYS—HOURS AND EARNINGS.

<i>Boston</i>	<i>Cincinnati</i>
3000 Licensed Newsboys, 11 to 14 Years Old	1752 Licensed Newsboys, 10 to 14 Years Old
65 per cent. are Jews.	60 per cent. are Americans.
20 per cent. are Italians.	20 per cent. are Germans.
10 per cent. are Irish.	9 per cent. are Jews.
5 per cent. of other nationalities.	6 per cent. are Irish.
Average daily earnings, 25 cents.	5 per cent. of other nationalities.
Average hours daily for all news- boys, 5.	Average daily earnings, 35 cents.
	Hours on school days, 3.
	Hours on holidays, 4.

All the arguments that could be found concerning the evil effects of street trading upon children have been collected and divided into three groups, under the headings of physical, moral and material deterioration. It must be understood that this indictment represents an extremely one-sided view, and that while the influences of the street are unquestionably bad, most children exposed to them are not likely to suffer to the extent suggested below. However, the mere fact that such effects are noted in some cases is sufficient to justify such regulation as will protect all children as much as possible from these evil influences.

EFFECTS OF STREET TRADING ON CHILDREN

<i>Physical Deterioration</i>	{	Night work.
		Excessive fatigue.
		Exposure to bad weather.
		Irregularity of sleep and meals.
		Use of stimulants, cigarettes, coffee, liquor.
		Disease through contact with vices.
<i>Moral Deterioration</i>	{	Encouragement to truancy.
		Independence and defiance of parental control.
		Weakness cultivated by formation of bad habits.
		Form liking for petty excitements of street.
		Opportunities to become delinquent.
		Large percentage of recruits to criminal population.
<i>Material Deterioration</i>	{	Form distaste for regular employment.
		Small chance of acquiring a trade.
		Drift into large class of casual workers.

NEW YORK STREET TRADERS IN INSTITUTIONS

September, 1906

Hart's Island Reformatory—63 per cent. were newsboys.

Catholic Protectory—40 per cent. were newsboys.

House of Refuge { 30 per cent. of younger boys were newsboys.

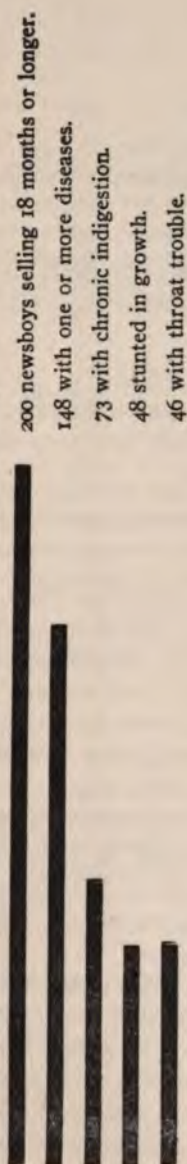
Randall's Island { 70 per cent. of older boys were newsboys.

Of 560 in reformatories, 32 per cent. were newsboys before they were 10 years old.

Of 527 in reformatories, 35 per cent. sold all night when newsboys.

EFFECTS OF STREET TRADING

New York City—September, 1906



Brooklyn—September, 1906



Boston Suffolk School



Of the 108 in the Boston Suffolk School—

82 were newsboys.

21 were peddlers.

4 were bootblacks.

1 was an errand boy.

All were under 16 years.

On street daily from 2 to 8 hours.

Average daily earnings were 27 cents.

1 was an errand boy.

Average number of children in family, 4.

Maximum number of children in family, 16.

New York City—September, 1906

Of 300 newsboys who have formed habit of smoking, 4 were 6 years old, 3 were 7 years old, 6 were 8 years old, 18 were 9 to 10 years old, 269 were 11 to 15 years old.

Boston Juvenile Court

Total number of cases, September, 1906, to September, 1908..... 2370

Total number of street-trade cases..... 268

Percentage of street traders..... 11.3

Of the 268 delinquent children, 60 per cent. were Jews, 20 per cent. Italians, 20 per cent. of other nationalities, 208 were newsboys, 36 bootblacks, 24 peddlers.

It is difficult in this country to study the effect of regulation upon street trading children, as such regulation is confined to the states of New York, Massachusetts and Wisconsin, the District of Columbia and the cities of Cincinnati, O., and Newark, N. J. Moreover, these regulations have been in force here for only a short period of time. In England, however, there has been municipal regulation, authorized by Parliament, since 1903, and in Liverpool, since 1884. Hence, the effects of this regulation upon the boys and girls of English cities are important as bearing upon the whole question of its advisability. In England the enforcement of local provisions regulating street trading is entrusted to a division of the police, known as the "Watch Committee." The licensing of the children is in charge of a police officer; this officer and his deputies, who are plain-clothes men, constitute what is known as the street trading department of the police office. It is the duty of these men, not only to issue licenses and to regulate the commercial activities of children on the street, but also to visit the children in their homes and to get information concerning the conditions under which they live.

It is quite interesting to learn that this system has worked very satisfactorily in England. In the United States, wherever the enforcement of such regulation has been entrusted to the police, the results have been far from satisfactory. The reason for this is undoubtedly that the matter has been turned over to the entire police force, and not to a few officers especially detailed for the work.

Effects of Regulation in Liverpool

Lessened number of child traders on streets.

Lessened number of licensed children.

Improved appearance and behavior of those still trading.

In half-year covered by last report, no licensed girl was charged with indecent conduct, though formerly such charges were common. Of 68 boys committed to reformatories, only 2 were licensed, and of 583 boys sent to industrial schools, only 6 were licensed.

Newcastle

Cleared streets of juvenile beggars.

Stopped street trading by girls under 16 years.

Prevents children from frequenting saloons.

*Birmingham**Before Passage of Act of 1903*

Of 713 children in street trades, 458 were prosecuted in 6 months—185 of them for gambling and 115 for felony.

After Regulation by Licensing

In the single year of 1907 the number of children in street trades decreased 500.

*Street-trading Children Under 16 Years in Leeds, England**1905, No Licenses Issued*

Selling papers—753 boys, 6 girls.

Selling matches—24 boys, 10 girls.

Selling vegetables—16 boys, 1 girl.

Selling fruit—9 boys, 2 girls.

Selling miscellaneous articles—46 boys, 15 girls.

Total, 882.

In the following table is given a summary of the enforceable laws and ordinances relating to the work of children in street trades, effective at present in this country.

LAWS AND ORDINANCES.

Age Limit.	Licenses.	Hours.	Enforcement.	Penalty.
New York . . . { Boys 10. Girls 16. Publications.	Boys 10-14.	6 a. m. 10 p. m.	Police and truant officers.	Dealt with according to law.
District of Co- lumbia . . . { Boys 10. Girls 16. Bootblackening, selling anything.	Boys 10-16.	6 a. m. 10 p. m.	Factory inspectors.	Discretion of Juvenile Court.
Cincinnati . . . { Boys 10. Girls 16. Bootblackening, and selling any- thing.	Boys 10-14.	6 a. m. 8 p. m.	Police, truant and probation officers.	Delinquency fine, \$1.00-\$5.00.
Wisconsin . . . { Boys 10. Girls 16. Publications. Boys 12. Girls 16. All others.	Boys 10-14.	6 a. m.-10 p. m. Publications. 7 a. m.-7 p. m. All others.	Police, truant and probation officers and factory inspectors.	\$25-\$100 fine or imprisonment 10-60 days for newspaper offices for allowing newsboys about office between 9 a. m. and 3 p. m.
Massachusetts . . . { School committees of cities may make regulations of bootblackening and sale of newspapers, merchandise, etc.; may prohibit such sale or trades; or may require license to be obtained from them by persons under 14 years.				\$10 fine for child (max.), \$200 or imprisonment 6 months (max.), for parent allowing child under 15 years to peddle without license if required.

CHILD LABOR IN HOME INDUSTRIES

BY MARY VAN KLEECK,
Secretary, New York Committee on Women's Work.

The present employment of children in tenements in New York City gives no ground for optimism regarding New York State's method of regulating home work. A casual investigator who chooses to walk through the crowded tenement districts will find children at work who would not be permitted to enter a factory. He will see women and children carrying bundles of clothing or boxes of artificial flowers from work-shop to home, and if he should follow any of them he would learn something of the system of industry which makes child labor still possible in New York State.

Two days ago one of my fellow-workers visited a family living on Thompson street. It was after school hours. She found a mother and four children making artificial flowers. The oldest girl was eleven years old. Her sister was nine, her little brother was seven, and a little sister was five. The three older children had just come home from school, but the youngest child was too young to go, and worked all day separating the petals of artificial flowers. The oldest child of eleven years was deformed. She was not larger than a child of five.

The mother and four children have set themselves a certain allotment of work to finish each day, and the book in which their earnings are recorded by the employer says that those earnings are sixty cents a day. To earn that sixty cents a day they must make six dozen wreaths of daisies, three or four pieces to each daisy, and thirty-nine daisies on each wreath. The father is a ragman earning six dollars a week. The brother is out of work. The mother and children work until ten or eleven o'clock at night, and what they do not finish at night they must get up in time to finish in the morning before school begins. The little girl, Angelina, said she did the work the teacher gave her to do at home before school in the morning. "This morning, first I did the writing," she said, "then I did the two times, and then the three times, so I won't have so much to do

to-morrow. I like school better than home. I don't like home. There's too many flowers."

There is no law violated by the employment of those children. They are in school when they ought to be in school. The building has been inspected by the tenement department and the factory department and found satisfactory, and there is nothing which legally can be done to prevent the work of five-, seven-, nine- or eleven-year-old children.

Similar stories might be multiplied, but this may serve as a picture of present conditions. Within a month forty-two families of homeworkers selected at random have been visited, and in them fifty-nine children under fourteen years of age were found at work. The importance of these few cases is more fully realized when we read in the bulletin of the New York State Department of Labor in September, 1909, that in New York City on June 30th of this year there were 11,162 licensed tenements. The corresponding number for 1908 was 9,805. In 1906 there were 5,261. We do not know how many families were living in those tenements, nor how many children were at work at home, but the number of licensed houses has been increasing at the rate of two thousand a year. This does not necessarily mean that the homework system has been spreading. It does mean, however, that the labor department is discovering hundreds of tenements each year in which home manufacture is carried on. Whatever may be said of New York's law regulating manufactures in tenements, it does not appear that it has had the effect of decreasing the amount of work given out to be done in homes. It is characteristic of the system that its evils are its life, that the unrestricted competition of unskilled workers, the unregulated hours of work, and the employment of children are the things which make it profitable for the manufacturer. It seems obvious that to eradicate these evils we must find some way of checking and in time eliminating the system from which they are inseparable.

The development of the New York law is an illustration of an attempt to "regulate" a system which thrives on failures to regulate it. When the law prohibiting the making of cigars in tenements was declared unconstitutional in 1885 the legislature made no further attempt to deal with this subject until 1892, when the law was passed providing for the licensing of apartments in which certain articles were manufactured. From time to time the law has been amended,

but its essential provision, the license, remains unchanged. More than forty separate articles are named, and none of these may be manufactured in any living rooms unless the house has been licensed by the New York State Department of Labor. A license is issued when the department has ascertained that there are no orders outstanding against the property either in the tenement-house department or the board of health, and when a factory inspector has reported that sanitary conditions are satisfactory. The manufacturer, the owner of the house, and the worker are all held responsible if any of the articles named in the law are made in unlicensed houses. In brief, the law is designed merely to establish a certain standard of sanitation in home workrooms.

The best test of its effectiveness is the actual present condition and extent of tenement manufacturers in New York. From three investigations among several which have been made, the outlines of these conditions may be traced. In 1902 the Department of Labor investigated more than 1,000 home workers in New York City. In 1907 the same department made a special inquiry into the employment of children in licensed tenements on three or four streets. At the same time an investigation was being carried on by the Child Labor committees, national and city, the Consumers' Leagues, national and city, and the College Settlements Association. In these two last studies made in a very limited territory in a brief period of time, 558 children who could not legally have worked in a factory in New York State were found working at home. The youngest was three years old. More than half were less than eleven years. Forty children were out of school in violation of the compulsory education law. Twenty-three were too young to be protected by its provisions. Nearly half the houses in which these children were at work had not been licensed. Fifty cents a day was a common wage representing the earnings of at least two workers.

More than a dozen different articles found in the tenements were not named in the law, so that the houses in which they were manufactured did not come under the wording of any labor legislation. For example, children were found sewing a fine quality of kid glove in a house which the department of labor had refused to license. Because gloves were not named in the law this work was permissible.

The great majority of the home workers are Italians. A few are Germans or Russian Jews, and a few are native born. Only a very small proportion are native born of native parents. One little Italian girl was asked whether she had ever made flowers in Italy. She said "No" with great emphasis, and added, "When we were in Italy we used to think it was funny that people made flowers in New York. In Italy we have them natural."

It is not merely the most recent arrivals among the immigrants who are at work in their homes. In the official investigation of 1902 only eleven of 705 licensees were recorded as having been in this country less than one year. More than one-half had been here longer than five years.

In the investigation of the work of children no family was found in which the income from homework was sufficient for support. In the official study of 1902 it was found that the average earnings of homeworkers' families in the clothing trade were \$3.67. Artificial flower makers earned \$2.07 a week. A worker, who reported recently that the price for making a flower had been reduced from five cents a gross to two cents a gross, said, "You see, some women are willing to do it for that, and the rest must do it if they want the work. Two women came to our factory the other day and offered to work at home a week for nothing if the boss would give them the work."

When we sum up this sketch of the conditions of homework and place beside it an outline of the law, the two do not balance. On the one side are the unrestricted hours of work for women, the employment of children, and a scale of wages tending to slide downward. On the other side are elaborate provisions for regulating the sanitary conditions of home workrooms. We seem to have taken no thought of the industrial problem involved, namely, to establish a plane of competition which cannot be lowered by the exigencies or the needs of individual workers. We have left the manufacturer singularly free. Every other effective factory law lays the responsibility on his shoulders. In our regulation of homework in New York all that we do is to give him a list of addresses, and say, "We have inspected these tenements and found them sanitary. You may give out work to families living in them. You must not send work into any other houses."

To point out possible methods of safeguarding the workers'

freedom and increasing the manufacturers' responsibility in the homework system is beyond the scope of this address and belongs rather to the discussion which will follow. It may be said, however, that the evils characteristic of home industries are but one manifestation of a condition prevailing in other systems of industry, whereby the worker is deprived of real freedom to contract. Advantage is taken of his needs to force him to accept the lowest possible wage. The extreme condition found to so large an extent on Manhattan Island is really but one striking example of a similar industrial servitude in factories as well as in homes throughout the country. To prevent such servitude is the child labor problem in home industries.

NEW ENGLAND'S LOST LEADERSHIP

BY MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY,
Secretary of the National Consumers' League.

What is New England going to do about child labor now? We have been talking about the laws for five years. We have been talking of the field that stretches before us, but the question that haunts my mind all the time is, Why does New England hold us all back? Why does it continue persistently to hold us all back? Why is it true now in 1910 that not one New England state gives to its children the blessings of the eight-hour day? Dr. Adler told us that during the last few years ten states have established for their children the eight-hour day. Why is there no New England state in that honor list of ten? All told, there are sixteen states which give their children the eight-hour day. Part of them did not enact it directly as a child labor measure. Part of these sixteen states are western mining states, where the workingmen have used their ballots to establish the eight-hour day for all who are employed in mines or smelters or at the mine's mouth, and, incidentally, in legislating for the industry, they have legislated for the only children who would be working in those states, because they are pre-eminently mining states. Why is New England unable to point to one state in that honor list of sixteen states?

Why is New England willing to let her children go out from school with less education than the City of New York requires for every immigrant child who comes to our port? It is true, I believe—I hope I may be corrected if I am in error—that after the law has been twice amended it is still legal for a boy or girl in Boston, fourteen years old, to leave school when he or she knows enough English to enter the fourth grade of the public schools, and go to work. If I am right in that, why are the children of Boston given two years less required education than the children of the city of Rochester, New York, which has only just come into the same class with Boston, only now become a city of the first class? Even in our metropolis, where we have so many children, unhappily, on half

time, because the expenditure of six or ten million dollars a year is never enough to build schools for all the children who come in on the ships, and pour in on the trains; even there, we do not let the children go out of school and into the factory until they have finished four and one-half years of school work and are in the second half of the fifth year.

Why can the children of Boston go to work when they finish the work of three years of the public schools? It is not fair to employers in the competing states; it presses unfairly on them if their laws are more rigid. It is not fair to the manufacturers of New York that Massachusetts should so hold back. It is certainly not fair to the children of Massachusetts. Why is it still legal for messenger boys to work here at night so young as they can still work here? I do not see why we busy ourselves so much with what is happening below Washington or west of Ohio when we come to Massachusetts. What I want to know is, Why are the hearts of New England so hard toward the children of New England? Why do not New England people love their children enough to give them the short working day and the long term of school?

Some few years ago the governor of Tennessee called a conference at Nashville of representatives of the cotton industries, of the cotton states, and the governors of those states. The new young factory inspector of Louisiana, occupant of a newly-created position, Miss Jean Gordon, came to that conference full of knowledge of the needs of the children of New Orleans, of their urgent need in that torrid climate of a shorter working day. She introduced a resolution in the conference that all the Southern states should agree to take as their goal the eight-hour day for their children. The matter was discussed two days, and then the conference voted that so long as Pennsylvania let young children work twelve hours a day, and Massachusetts let them work ten hours, the South could not be expected to take a flying leap and arrive at the eight-hour day while the North held back.

How long is New England going to hold the rest of us back?

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

BY PAULINE GOLDMARK,

Supervisor, Research Work, New York School of Philanthropy.

Child labor which has no legal regulation is the subject of this meeting. The hosts of children employed in agriculture are included under this head, and one great industry which stands on the borderline between factory law and agriculture, namely, the canning industry, employing thousands of children unrestricted by any sort of legal regulation. It has had this freedom on account of its supposedly agricultural character.

In New York State, in fact, an opinion of the attorney general specifically exempts work in the cannery sheds from the protection of the labor law, on the ground that such work is not injurious. It is true that most of the occupations are carried on in the open air. The canners provide sheds where the preparation and cleaning of fruit and vegetables is done, such processes as hulling strawberries, stemming cherries and plums, stringing beans, cleaning tomatoes and apples, and husking corn. But here the resemblance to agriculture stops, for in speeding, intensity of application and long hours, cannery work is as exhausting as any other form of factory work.

Canneries depend for their labor almost exclusively on women and children. On account of the perishability of their product and even more on account of the unorganized and irregular method of securing their raw materials, these establishments work overtime to a degree almost unprecedented in any other industry. It is not at all unusual for young girls and women to work for eighty or ninety hours a week. They have been known to work for eighteen hours of the twenty-four in certain canneries in New York State.

In order to secure a sufficiently large labor supply when the country towns do not furnish enough workers, the canneries are calling more and more upon the cities. In New York State as well as in New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, there is a yearly exodus from the large cities of Italian and Polish families who seek this work for the summer months. Young and old alike work in the sheds.

Mothers take their nursing children with them, and children from four years up have been found stringing beans. This is the crop that calls for most hand-work, as no machine has yet been invented that will string beans. Therefore, at the height of the bean season which often lasts for six weeks, the canners get their workers out at 4 A. M. and may keep them employed until midnight. The pay varies from one to one-and-one-half cents a pound. Under these conditions the immigrants are stimulated to work as long as they can stay awake, taking no time to attend to household matters or to the needs of their children.

Moreover, the living quarters provided by the canners are often shamefully over-crowded. Fifty people, including men, women and children, may be housed in an old barn; or shacks may be erected of the poorest construction, allowing but one small room for a whole family of adults and children. Often several hundred persons live together in the utmost squalor lacking all the decencies of life, under unhygienic conditions that would not be tolerated in any city. Thus, the much-talked-of benefits of country life for city workers during the summer months are nowhere apparent.

The children are pressed into the work, especially during the bean season, in order to add to the family income. Their little fingers are particularly dexterous in bean stringing. They sit close to mother or sister, working for hours at intense speed. They may be released to take a box of beans to the weigher, carrying for several hundred feet weights far too heavy for their tender years. At night it is no uncommon sight to see a whole family of children fall asleep over their work, while their parents stolidly keep on as long as the supply of beans holds out. Lack of sleep, exposure to inclement weather, and insufficient food add to these deplorable conditions.

The deprivation of schooling is another serious evil. These families frequently do not return to their winter homes until long after the beginning of the school year, in some cases continuing to work at late crops until Christmas. The younger children may be unemployed for months and rove around the country-side, neglected by their parents and uncared for by health or school officers. The local schools assume no responsibility for them, and when they return to the city they have fallen far behind their regular classes. In a special inquiry in the schools of Buffalo, N. Y., the teachers

gave distressing evidence as to the backwardness of the cannery children. They do not catch up with their classes before they are again carried off to the canneries early in June, becoming a burden to the public school and losing all the benefit of consecutive school life. In one school it was shown that seventy-seven children under fourteen years of age were absent at the beginning of the fall term for this reason. The New York State compulsory education law requires ten months' attendance, yet thousands of these cannery children, who particularly need the assimilating influence of our public schools, are habitual truants. No local or state official concerns himself with these little strangers, who, though born in America, are likely to grow up as foreign as their immigrant parents. Is it not of immediate concern that these young boys and girls, future citizens of our country, should have proper supervision? The problem is presumably the same in all the states where canneries are found. It is an industry which is growing by leaps and bounds, dependent to a large degree upon the hordes of immigrant workers.

No exact estimate has ever been made of the number of children employed. In one New York State cannery alone 300 children under fourteen years of age were found at work in August, 1909. Surely enough is known of the extraordinary extent of this form of child labor and the peculiarly undesirable living conditions at many canneries, to call for further investigation and immediate legal restriction of the one great employing industry that still stands outside of the factory law.

RELATION OF NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE TO STATE AND LOCAL COMMITTEES

BY EDWARD W. FROST,
Chairman, Wisconsin Child Labor Committee.

Believing in this future and that the men and women who wisely predicted from its remarkably effective work in the few years of its existence and from the growing need of its aid in the development of state and local work, we are at the beginning of a movement full of promise for the generations to come.

Believing in this future and that the men and women who founded the National Child Labor Committee builded better than they knew, I think the basis of relationship between the national committee and its state and local committees should be as definitely determined as possible, and lines laid down along which there shall be steady development.

I take a special interest in this question from the fact that it was my privilege to be a member of the Committee of Twenty-one of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America, which sat for three years at a crisis in the association's history to determine upon a permanent policy in the relations of the national committee to the state and local associations. Some will remember this historic discussion and the debate with which it closed. Many know how remarkably it all worked out for permanent good.

Mutual Dependence

The real relation between the national and local child labor committees cannot be stated better than in the resolution on the general question of relationship adopted by the Young Men's Christian Association at the International Conference at Buffalo in 1904, as follows:

"Efficient state and provincial organizations have long been recognized as essential factors in the successful development of the local associations; and an important part of the work of the International Committee has been to establish and assist these organiza-

tions. This policy becomes increasingly important with the development of the association work. It is, therefore, the duty of the agents of the International Committee, when working in fields having state or provincial organizations to aid and strengthen those organizations. It is equally the duty of the agents of the state and provincial organizations to support and aid the agents, or the state and provincial organizations to support and aid the International Committee in its relation to the associations and in its work for the North American association brotherhood."

Most of us who represent state child labor committees come each year to the national conference with a strong feeling of regret that so few states and cities have been wise and earnest enough to organize and maintain self-supporting and forceful committees. This annual regret has not yet strongly influenced us all during the year which elapses between national conferences. We are, as we think, rightfully proud of the gains of the last ten years in the making and enforcement of Wisconsin child labor laws, but the Wisconsin Child Labor Committee is scarcely more than a name and the work is done by a few earnest members who confess that they would be wiser if they gave more strength to building up a stronger committee. We greatly need more frequent visits from the secretaries of the national committee, and the uplift and stimulus such visits bring.

While we would frankly object to any attempt to dictate to us any particular form of policy or to over-rule local judgment on the form of laws which should be presented to the legislature, and while we insist that the decision on local matters be left to men and women on the ground, we ask and need a closer connection with the national committee and more help in all save financial ways.

The situation presents to-day in Wisconsin as elsewhere no problem of relationship. For the present, at least, and for a considerable time to come, the only danger will be that the national committee will not have men and money enough to foster and develop state and local committees. It is and it should be the well-defined policy of the national committee to encourage local autonomy in every way, to build up in cities and states child labor committees worthy the name, and to bring about as rapidly as possible the employment by state and local committees of expert secretaries on good salaries. Let us follow the example set us by the foremost states.

Interstate Organization

One of the most helpful things is the development of the group work for states, such as is done by Mr. Lord and Mr. Clopper, and in a most difficult field by Mr. McKelway, as district secretaries of the national committee. Many western states are calling for such grouping and such secretaries. Years of study and familiarity with child labor problems in Wisconsin and elsewhere convince me that the conspicuous weakness of most state and local committees lies in the fact that we have not raised money to employ trained men and women to investigate, to speak with authority, and to instruct the public wisely. Our work is too often left to a few men and women who volunteer their services and pay their own expenses. Such men and women too often find it easier to give their own time and money than to teach and inspire others to give themselves. This work must be put upon a paid and expert basis. It is the old story of the shortcomings of volunteer service.

Raising Funds

As soon as a state or local child labor committee is strongly organized and able to raise anything beyond the necessary expenses of the first paid secretary employed by it, a contribution to the national committee should become a part of its modest budget. Nor should the national committee be requested to refrain from soliciting money in the state or city of such child labor committee unless the local committee is strong enough to make a substantial contribution to the work of the national committee. But no such solicitations should, at least in the earlier years of such state or local committee's existence, be made by the national committee without advising with the local committee. In this way there will be no harmful duplication of lists and no double demands upon local contributors who are unaware of the relation between the committees.

The Specialist

In child labor reform, as in other things, our age demands specialization. Child labor is no longer a new story. If I can judge by personal observation, the public has turned to newer and more startling things and has apparently a comfortable and easy-going conviction that "some one"—that shadowy person on whom we unload any inconvenient duties—is looking after the interests of work-

ing children. So long as our present form of government endures we must largely depend upon local initiative, and this means building up, under the wise and intelligent guidance of the national committee, an infant industry—if the expression may be pardoned here—which will soon rise and stand upon its feet.

In my own city there began a year or more ago an effort for wiser co-operation in philanthropic work and for improvement in methods. For many years earnest men and women, cumbered with much philanthropic serving, had planned and hoped for such a movement. At last by rare good fortune a woman of fine training and high ability was secured on an adequate salary to give her entire time to the furtherance of co-operation and improvement. In three months a basis for permanent and lasting work was found and more real ground gained than in years of zealous and patient endeavor. If the Wisconsin Child Labor Committee could to-day engage such a secretary it would be of incalculable benefit to the working children of Wisconsin. We could in any state or any large city raise the money to engage such a secretary if we had the burden sufficiently laid on our hearts.

I hope the national committee will keep at us until every state and every considerable city has a child labor committee which raises money to employ trained secretaries, to make systematic investigations and carry on a campaign to arouse public sentiment. We all know the time for arousing a sane and helpful sentiment by painting lurid pictures of the sufferings of the working children is past. In our endeavor to improve laws we are confronted by able and well-organized opposition, and accurate statistics are demanded of us. We cannot get them without paid service and a *quiet* investigation and close study. But it is not right or sensible to expect the national committee to raise funds for local secretaries or local investigation. Even \$2,000 a year raised in a city or state for the salary and modest expenses of a trained man or woman will do more in large cities and in many states than a host of public meetings.

We must look to the national committee for inspiration, and the national committee, in its turn, must look to the larger cities and the older states for the necessary funds.

It is pleasant to see that all over the country men and women of broad minds and large resources are responding to the special call of the National Child Labor Committee. Many are of such national

reputation that their names speak for themselves, but in the last analysis we who in humbler fashion represent the committee in our own states are the ones to whom the national committee must look for arousing local sympathy and securing large contributions. It is manifestly unfair to throw upon the eastern states and a few large cities, as has been done in the past, so great a part of the financial burden.

Reports from State and Local Child Labor Committees

LOS ANGELES (CALIFORNIA) CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

In submitting the report for our local child labor committee, I beg your indulgence because of newness of work. Our time has been largely spent in building an environment wherein were the proper facilities for work. We have been like a workman without his tools. In the coming year this handicap will be removed, and we hope for better results.

In taking up this work a year ago, we realized our first step must be to secure a *resident* labor inspector. In pursuance of this idea we appeared before our state legislature, praying for such appointment. Being told that all inspectors provided were needed where already located—in San Francisco—we turned our attention to a bill providing for an extra appropriation from Sacramento, to make possible the appointment of an extra deputy inspector. The bill was finally duly passed by the state legislature. We had our candidate—a thoroughly trained and competent person—selected and labored assiduously for the appointment; but state politicians had “slated the job”, and we felt well repaid and our efforts successful when we secured the defeat of this appointment, although our own particular candidate did not receive the place. Our present inspector is doing good work, and we feel satisfaction in the final outcome.

The compulsory school attendance law is well enforced. We need more help, but under the present force all possible is being done by the School Board. Issuance of certificates is well cared for by the Board of Education. Inspections of child labor have not yet been made, owing to the labor inspector's office being established only seven months and other statistics needing care during this period. Within nine months all factories and stores, wholesale and retail, will be visited and statistics compiled.

Last year—January, 1909—Child Labor Day was observed in most of our large city churches. A fine, comprehensive article was published in the *Catholic Review*. Jewish synagogues also observed the day.

Telegrams were sent last spring to Senator Flint¹ and Representative McLaughlin, asking their earnest endeavor in forwarding the bill for the Federal Children's Bureau. You know the part Senator Flint took in the work subsequently.

Our “scholarships” for children from 12 to 14 years of age, who had

¹ Senator Flint is sponsor for this bill in the United States Senate.—Ed.

been working under permit of juvenile court—are doing excellent work by placing the child in school and paying the parent a sum (generally \$3) equivalent to the child's wage. This sum is paid weekly. "Dollar for dollar and hour for hour." This work is considered the most effective club women have ever done.

Unfortunately, official reports do not show clearly the difference between school enrollment and school attendance, and under the present law we are largely dependent upon parents, school authorities and juvenile courts for establishing the child's age. The Juvenile Court, Labor Inspector and Scholarship Committee actively co-operate with us.

We are not at present seeking new legislation, but rather attempting to aid in the enforcement of what we have. This committee has no financial system nor salaried officer. All work is thus far done gratuitously, as a department of the work of the Juvenile Improvement Association. The most interesting phases of our work have been (1) the effort to secure a local inspector; (2) systematic investigation following applications for scholarships.

MRS. OLIVER C. BRYANT,
Chairman.

JANUARY 12, 1910.

CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

Our committee is the result of the combined work of various organizations in this part of the state who felt that some duplication would be had if they worked along independent lines, and therefore decided that the committee formed by representatives of the several organizations would be helpful.

Our labor and educational laws are not codified, but are in such shape that little difficulty is had in getting the intent of such laws. California is a large state, and the report of the Labor Commissioner leads me to believe that only in the large centers are the child labor law and the compulsory education law really enforced. The Labor Commissioner has made an excellent report, especially when one knows the limited force at hand to secure the information presented. The reports of the Boards of Education are reasonably complete, but such information as attendance, enrollment, etc., has to be dug out. The age of the applicant for an employment certificate is secured from school or baptismal record.

We have no paid officers; the dues are \$3.00 per annum, and the money is being used to secure special information regarding the child labor problem as we have it.

Within the week special pictures will be taken showing the street scenes between the hours of midnight and 6 A. M., that we may have material to present to the next legislature when asking for a change of the law that it may affect the distribution of newspapers.

J. C. ASTREDO,
Secretary.

JANUARY 7, 1910.

CITIZEN'S CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

During the year 1909 the chief interest in the child labor problem in the District of Columbia has related to the efficient administration of existing legislation and the problem of securing a few more amendments to the law. Imperfections which experience has shown to exist. Unfortunately, the National Congress has not yet provided the District of Columbia with appropriations either for the payment of inspectors to enforce the law or for clerical assistance for keeping records, issuing certificates and the like. The keen interest of the recently resigned Commissioner of the District of Columbia, H. B. F. Macfarland, in the child labor question, led him to temporarily solve the problem by detailing two policemen to act as inspectors in enforcing the law, but this step can be regarded only as a temporary one. The reports of these officials show that during the year, 1,707 badges and permits have been issued to children to act as street vendors or newspaper sellers, and 138 special permits have been issued to children to engage in theatrical performances. Approximately 350 business houses, shops, stores, factories, etc., are employing about 500 children under sixteen years of age. As the school population of the District of Columbia is approximately 50,000, the relation of the number of working children to the school population is apparently a favorable one.

During the year, 78 prosecutions for violations of the child labor law were instituted in the juvenile court. These were principally cases against employers for permitting children to work without permits, or after seven o'clock at night, or longer than eight hours a day. The cases against minors were 53 against children for selling papers without the official badge, 3 for wearing badges issued to others, 3 for selling badges to others, 2 for selling on the streets after ten o'clock at night, one for altering the permit to raise the age, 2 for larceny of badges, and several cases for acts of misconduct while ostensibly selling on the streets. The law, unfortunately, provides that penalties for violations of the street-trading laws shall be not less than five dollars nor more than twenty dollars for each offense. As it would be an extreme hardship to impose penalties of five dollars in many cases, a bill has been introduced by the commissioners of the District to reduce the minimum amount to two dollars.

Much of the difficulty in connection with child labor in this city is due to street trading. According to the official report: "much trouble has been experienced in consequence of boys loitering in and about sidewalks late in the evening with shoestrings for sale, or with bundles of papers, brought at greatly reduced rates from other boys who stop selling early in the evening, using such wares as a means of begging, claiming that they cannot return home until they have disposed of the articles offered for sale." The inspectors are endeavoring to remedy these conditions by inducing persons requesting street-trading permits to agree to cease work at eight o'clock P. M. One feature of the inspector's annual report which has caused some comment is the large number of children employed on the stage in various theatrical

performances; a number of these children are employed in the moving-picture shows and five-cent theaters which have recently become so common in this and other cities. Some of the children permitted to engage in these performances have been as young as five years of age, and it is becoming evident that measures will have to be taken to impose more careful restrictions on this class of employment.

HENRY J. HARRIS,
Secretary.

JANUARY 11, 1910.

ILLINOIS CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The Child Labor Committee of Chicago has had but one meeting,—at the time of its organization. I am sorry to say it has no work to report.

The Consumers' League has continued the work it has been doing the past five years in connection with the county court, in helping to enforce the law. Names and addresses of children applying for certificates are sent to the secretary of the league, and as she recommends, the certificate is given or refused.

The child labor and compulsory education laws in Illinois are fairly well codified. Enforcement of these laws has been fairly good in the past, but from the factory office there appears to be a falling off in this direction at the present time. Reports are not frequent nor lucid, although our educational reports show the difference between enrollment and attendance, and factory inspectors' reports give number of children employed, number of inspections, and number of prosecutions. We have no means—aside from factory reports—of collecting information regarding court cases under child labor laws.

The press and all reformatory and educational bodies are utilized to educate the public on this subject.

We do not employ a salaried secretary and have no systematized financial backing. The most interesting part of our work is the giving of labor certificates to children who come through the court. Here we have evidence of the two grave defects in the law: the very low educational test and the failure to require the child to prove his age when he claims to be sixteen.

HARRIET M. VAN DER VAART,
Secretary.

DECEMBER 11, 1909.

INDIANA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

Failure to secure legislation at the legislative session of 1909 that would have brought Indiana up to the level of the neighboring states proved the necessity of organization. At a meeting called at Indianapolis last June, a temporary organization was effected, and this organization was made permanent at the annual meeting held at Columbus, Ind., October 25th. It is planned to form local groups in the leading cities of the state and to keep the matter thoroughly before the people during the coming year. The

next legislature will be asked to pass a law embodying the principles of the child labor legislation of the most advanced states. The question of night work and an eight-hour day are at present the most vital ones in our campaign.

U. G. WEATHERLY,
Chairman.

JANUARY 12, 1910.

KANSAS CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

There are but two laws in Kansas regulating the employment of children, the child labor law and the compulsory education law. Labor, education and health authorities in the various cities adhere to the provisions of the law in relation to compulsory education, issuance of certificates and inspection of child labor. The Bureau of Labor makes frequent and lucid reports of its work. Educational reports show the difference between school enrollment and school attendance, and the factory inspection reports give a record of employment certificates. These reports show the number of children employed, number and cause of accidents, number of inspections, prosecutions and their results.

Our committee collects information regarding cases under the child labor law from the Commissioner of Labor, and seeks, through diligence and interviews, to keep the public educated. In this work the labor organizations and federation of women's clubs co-operate. We are not at present seeking new legislation, have no salaried official; our work is maintained by voluntary contributions, and the most interesting phases of the committee's work at present are general efforts to secure the enforcement of proper legislation.

F. W. BLACKMAR,
Chairman.

JANUARY 12, 1910.

KENTUCKY CHILD LABOR ASSOCIATION.

The most noteworthy occurrence of the past twelve months in our field was the application of the educational test to children seeking employment certificates. This application began September 1, 1909. Upon referring to a report made by this association one year ago, I find it stated that, among other objections urged against the bill which became the "Child Labor Act of 1908", it was insisted that the requirements of that act were so severe that not only would children who had not attended school regularly be thrown out of employment in greater numbers than the schools could accommodate, but that the educational test was too exacting even for children who had regularly attended school up to their fourteenth year. How accurate these forecasts were is shown by the statement that the public school enrollment in Louisville is about 800 less this year than last, and that the educational test imposed by the act can be complied with by a child who has finished the fourth grade in the Louisville public schools, a stage reached by the average pupil at the age of 10½ years.

REPORT OF SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS.

As illustrating the extent of the influence of the educational test, we make use of the following figures, furnished by the Superintendent of Public Schools of Louisville:

TOTAL NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES ISSUED.

Number of certificates issued to September 1, 1909.....	2,476
Number of certificates issued September 1 to December 10, 1909.....	310
Total number issued to December 10, 1909.....	2,786

RENEWAL OF "NO-SCHOOL-RECORD" CERTIFICATES.

Of the 2,476 children to whom certificates were issued prior to September 1, 1909, 930 have passed the age of 16. There remain below that age, therefore	1,546
Of these, there have secured "school-record" certificates.....	595
Therefore, there now hold certificates without "school-record," <i>i. e.</i> , invalidated certificates	951
	— 1,546

VALID ("SCHOOL-RECORD") CERTIFICATES OUTSTANDING.

Renewed (by addition of school record).....	595
Original "school-record" certificates	310
Total of valid certificates (to December 10, 1909).....	905

The superintendent reports he has no reliable information as to the number of children who have abandoned work to return to school because unable to comply with the educational test. He has instructed the principals of schools to report, but to date has received reports of only *four* such cases. He believes, however, that such cases are much more numerous. By as many as such cases fall below 951, by so many is denoted the number of children in Louisville still between 14 and 16 who were formerly working under certificates which have now become invalid, and who have not returned to school nor obtained "school-record" certificates. How many of them are in employments which require a certificate, and are, therefore, unlawfully employed it is not possible to say. Using the same school census and allowing for a slightly smaller school enrollment (as reported), we now have in Louisville about 1400 children between 14 and 16 who are not at school and have no valid certificates, as against 562 reported by us a year ago. For this difference the educational test is responsible. It is not likely that employments which require no certificates will account for more than three hundred of these children.

It is not entirely certain what are the employments which require no certificates. According to official interpretation of the law, they would seem to be employments in a "business office, telegraph office, restaurant,

hotel, apartment house, (and) in the distribution or transmission of merchandise or messages." It seems reasonably certain that the lawmakers did not intend to make a discrimination between these employments and those in a "factory, workshop, mine or mercantile establishment", in point of the scholarship of the employee. They did not intend to say that work in a factory, workshop, mine or mercantile establishment required a higher education than work in a business office, a telegraph office or any of the other employments above mentioned. The educational requirement was intended for the benefit of the child, not for that of the employer. This, then, must be confessed to be a defect in the statute, which should be remedied, both in the interest of the children and of a thorough enforcement of the other provisions of the law. It would, obviously, be an advantage to know how many of these children are in lawful employments without certificates, since it would be a simple matter, by a subtraction from the number of such children not in school to learn how many were unlawfully in employments which do require certificates. But this information cannot be had, except by the most laborious investigations, since the requirement that the employer shall post a list of such children in his employ seems not to apply to the class of employments in which certificates are not required.

PROSECUTIONS.

During the past year 20 prosecutions for violations of the law in Louisville were conducted by the State Labor Inspector. Nearly all of these were for the offense of employing children without certificates. In seventeen cases fines aggregating \$375 were imposed. Three cases were dismissed. The fines averaged \$22, ranging from \$50 (two cases) to \$5 (two cases). Eight fines (aggregating \$175) were suspended during good behavior; one was reduced by the Circuit Court, on appeal, from \$25 to 1 cent.

INSPECTION.

The Labor Inspector complains of the practice of suspending fines, as greatly crippling the efficient enforcement of the law. He also complains that the truant officers do not report to him violations which come under their notice, but confine their efforts to getting the truant into school, from which durance vile he speedily escapes to resume the delights of labor. The inspector thinks nothing would be so efficacious in stopping this as a few prosecutions of employers; and in this we must agree with him. The inspector also represents that the corps of inspectors is too small. It is perfectly obvious that two men cannot begin to conduct a thorough, periodical investigation of the whole State of Kentucky. Louisville alone is as much as one man can handle, perhaps more. The General Assembly ought to provide not less than two additional inspectors; four additional would not be too many.

"SCHOLARSHIPS."

"Scholarships" are now familiar adjuncts to the work of a child labor station. A "scholarship" is a contrivance by which certain children are

enabled to go to school who would otherwise find it difficult or impossible to go. It usually takes the form of pecuniary help, measured by the probable earning of the child if at work. Some of these "scholarship children" are under fourteen, and, of course, are compelled to go to school. The "scholarship" enables them to get shoes and clothes and helps to eke out the slender income of the family. These are really "relief cases", to be handled by the charity organization, and we are now receiving much assistance from that source. Some of the "scholarship children" are those over fourteen who cannot get an employment certificate for want of education. The scholarship enables them to continue at school when they might otherwise leave to enter some employment not requiring a certificate. Still another class are those who, while able to obtain certificates, are particularly ambitious and capable in their studies, and who, by means of the scholarship, are enabled to get a more thorough training than would otherwise be possible.

A statement of the transactions of the "Scholarship Committee" for Louisville from September, 1908, to December, 1909, makes the following showing:

Total disbursements	\$1,176.20
Total receipts	1,151.72
Deficit	\$24.48
Number of scholarships granted	21
Largest amount paid to one child	\$194.70
Longest duration of a scholarship	65 weeks
Largest single weekly allowance.....	\$3.00
Largest aggregate weekly payment.....	22.00
Largest number of scholarships in effect at the same time.....	10

In addition to this, the Scholarship Committee holds itself in readiness to secure desirable employments for any of its children who graduate from the scholarship. Sometimes the necessity for the scholarship is removed by securing advantageous employment for some older member of the family.

AMENDMENTS.

An amendment of the compulsory school attendance law has been proposed to the legislature now in session, which will give to the superintendents of schools power to require attendance at school of children who are unable to obtain employment certificates because of insufficient education. At present the age of compulsory school attendance in Kentucky is from seven to fourteen. This amendment will raise the upper limit to sixteen, but will exempt all children who have obtained certificates.

It is probable an amendment will be offered to require certificates for all employments instead of for employments in "a factory, workshop, mine or mercantile establishment" only, as at present.

Clearer and more effective provision will probably be proposed for obtaining monthly reports from school superintendents.

JANUARY 13, 1910.

LAFON ALLEN,
President.

LOUISIANA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

Our child labor laws are not codified, and hardly need it. There are only two or three acts upon the subject, and all issues but one are clear, and this point is now before the Supreme Court, and will be argued tomorrow and decided within the next thirty days. I may mention that this is whether the child labor law of our state permits children to act on the stage. The factory inspector of our city has taken the position that it does not. Her views have been sustained by the lower court, and the issue is now before the Supreme Court.¹ At the instance of the district attorney I will argue the question myself, and will advise you of result as soon as it is reached.

The only city in the state in which the child labor law is of any importance is the city of New Orleans. The educational and health authorities have nothing to do with the matter, and the labor branch of it is very effectively attended to by Miss Jean M. Gordon, who is the factory inspector for this city. Miss Gordon makes all reports her position calls for to the city council.

We employ no salaried secretary, but the work is maintained fairly well through private contributions and some assistance from the city council.

The only interesting issue right now is whether children shall be permitted to act. The Louisiana State Committee has as yet not taken any position on the subject, the view of the committee being that the interpretation of the present law is now before the Supreme Court, and the law is being enforced as it is written, and that the committee as a committee is not concerned at present with anything but the enforcement of the law. Should the court maintain the law or defeat it, the committee will then take up for consideration its action at the next session of the legislature.

If I am permitted to express any view, it is this: that it is of the utmost importance, first, that we have as many statistics upon the subject as possible, showing what other states and countries are doing; second, that child labor legislation be made more uniform, particularly in groups of states engaged in the same industrial enterprises, so that, for instance, the cotton mills of Louisiana, where the law is strictly enforced, will not be made to suffer from competition with other states, which either have no laws or which do not enforce them. Legislation for the protection of the child should be maintained whether other states do so or not, but the general public does not exactly cherish that idea, and so far as we can we should promote the uniformity of legislation above referred to, and so earnestly urged at the Southern conference on the subject held in this city last March.

JANUARY 6, 1910.

SOLOMON WOLFF,
President.

¹ Sustained by Supreme Court, February 17th.—Ed.

MAINE CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

While child labor conditions are not ideal in Maine, the past six years record great progress.

During the 1908-9 session of the legislature, the Maine Child Labor Committee, by uniting their efforts with the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs and Maine Federation of Labor, secured a fifty-eight-hour law, an education test, a strong truancy law, and an amendment to the age-certificate provision by adding penalties with power of enforcement.

We were unable to defeat the clause regarding canning food products. We shall have another try at that.

Our education test was somewhat injured by being taken from the office of State Superintendent of Schools and left in the hands of the attorney-general, with no appropriation for the work; but, through the efforts of the Federated Clubs, the school superintendents and school boards throughout the state are being requested to get the blanks at the expense of the towns and cause all children applying for certificates to submit to the test. This request is being complied with generally.

It is too soon to know the results, since the law went into effect only in September. We have learned that several evening schools have been established for children over fifteen years of age, and in one city, where an evening school has been in successful operation many years, another has been established to teach the Greeks to speak English. It is open to all minors of foreign nationality.

Street traders and night work as yet have caused us no trouble, there being no demand for such labor.

Our efforts are now being given to the enforcement of the laws we have attained. The child labor laws are published in the report of the Department of Factory Inspectors.

ELLA JORDAN MASON,

JANUARY, 1910.

Secretary.

MARYLAND CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The Maryland Child Labor Committee, during the past year, has instituted an investigation into the conditions surrounding the employment of children in factories and canneries in and around Baltimore. It is intended to use the information obtained to arouse public opinion to the importance of having proper child labor laws enacted and enforced. A paid investigator has been gathering data since the latter part of the summer of 1909. An effort will be made to secure the enactment of a 14-year-age limit law by the legislature of Maryland, which convened January 2, 1910.

Under the existing law the age limit is 12 years, and a child between 12 and 16 years desiring to work must pass an examination and secure a permit, which is issued by the Bureau of Statistics and Information. The present law, in the opinion of the committee, is not properly enforced. The energies of the committee are being directed toward securing its better enforce-

ment. The Maryland Committee also feels that much better results could be obtained if the duty of making the examination and issuing work permits to children were placed under the supervision of the school authorities, and will also strive to have the present laws changed in this respect. The committee is receiving valuable assistance from Mr. A. J. McKelway, the National Secretary for the Southern States, now located at Washington, D. C., in its efforts to secure favorable legislation at the present session of the legislature.

JANUARY 17, 1910.

JOSEPH C. JUDGE,
Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The work of the Executive Committee this year has been in organization, investigation, legislation and law enforcement. In regard to the mechanics of organization, the committee has an office adjoining that of the National Child Labor Committee in Boston. This office is open all day; the secretary has an office hour—one hour each day—and gives one-third of his time to the work; has one assistant and stenographer. The Executive Committee holds its meetings monthly at the office and exercises constant supervision over the work. Four hundred and sixty-one associate members have been enrolled, and there are twenty correspondents appointed by affiliated organizations to keep in touch with our committee. Preliminary work has been done in establishing connections with women's clubs, social reform clubs and trade unions throughout the state.

At the beginning of the year the Executive Committee adopted the plan of work shown on the chart. In some details, such as establishing relationship with men of public spirit and editors, and getting one or two dependable members in each factory town, the plan has not yet been put into operation, otherwise a large part of the work outlined in the first three columns has been completed.

Present Conditions

The principal work of the committee this year has been in investigation of the sufficiency and enforcement of our child labor laws. Massachusetts does not hold that high place in child labor legislation generally accorded it by its citizens. Twelve states have a shorter day's work than Massachusetts—five states have the eight-hour day; eighteen states restrict night work more than Massachusetts does; thirteen states require more schooling than Massachusetts—eight states require at least eight years and thirteen states require at least six years of schooling; and eleven states prohibit labor of children, until the sixteenth birthday, in specific occupations injurious to health.

One of the greatest defects in our law is the 10½-hour day which may be required of children from 14 to 16. The only statistical information of great value in the whole field bears upon this question. The number of children between 14 and 16 employed in factories, workshops and mercantile

PLAN.			
ORGANIZATION.	COLLECTION OF DATA.	STUDY OF DATA	ACTION.
Establish Relationship with	GET THE FACTS.	BY THE WHOLE COMMITTEE	
(1) Associate Members. Suggest ways in which active assistance can be offered.	(1) Through the Organization. (a) Get reports on the condition of law enforcement. (b) Public opinion. (Test the accuracy of these reports.)	(1) The facts as to law enforcement. (2) The system of inspection. (3) Laws of other states and model laws. (4) Previous movements in Massachusetts for reform. (5) Theory.	(1) Publication of results. (a) Newspapers. (b) Circulars. (c) Annual report. (2) Organization of public opinion. (a) Public meetings. (3) Secure (a) Better legislation 1910. (b) Better law enforcement.
(2) Affiliated organizations (throughout the state). (a) Trade Unions. (b) Committees interested in Child Labor. (c) Women's Clubs. (d) Social Reform Clubs.	(2) Through the State. (a) Official reports. (b) Inspection of case, reported to police. (3) Through newspapers. (Clipping bureau.) (4) Through personal observation in large cities.		
(3) Affiliated Individuals. (a) Clergy. (b) Men of public spirit. (c) Editors.	Card catalogue all information.	Monthly meetings for discussion (in addition to the business meeting).	Delay action until investigation and study are completed.
Get one or two dependable members in each factory town.			

establishments is reported by the state police to be 15,420. The number of children of this age employed in all occupations is estimated to be between 20,000 and 35,000. No argument is needed to show that the law which allows these children to be worked 10½ hours a day is a bad law. The results of this investigation go to show that Massachusetts has not sufficient law.

Much time has been spent in the study of statistics, the actual conditions of factories, theaters and other places where violations are likely to occur, and the system of inspection. Statistics on this question reveal little. It is possible to estimate the number of children between fourteen and sixteen at work, but the important question in regard to law enforcement is the number of children under fourteen. The only sources of information which bear upon this question are the censuses. One of these is now nine years old; the other four. The figures given in these censuses are not only out of date, but do not correspond with each other or with the facts we have found. The United States census of 1900 gives the number of children under fourteen employed as textile workers in Massachusetts as 44; messengers, errand and office boys, 137; in agricultural pursuits, 1588. The state census of 1905 reports 264 children under fourteen years of age employed.

In our study of actual conditions we have been able to make only very rough estimates of the amount of child labor. Forty-eight factories have been inspected in various parts of the state, and from our reports in regard to these it would appear that there is little employment of children under fourteen in factories, but considerable and very taxing employment of children between fourteen and sixteen. There appears to be much violation among messengers, newsboys, errand boys and in farm labor, especially in the delivery of milk, but the committee has not yet thoroughly investigated these trades. In the theaters a large amount of violation has been found. The provisions of the law requiring schedules to be posted in mercantile establishments are largely violated. There is undoubtedly laxity in regard to age and schooling certificates. In one instance the police informed me that a child whom I saw, evidently not over eight years old, had a certificate proving her age to be eighteen. The committee needs a larger investigating force in order to push forward the study of actual conditions.

A study of the inspection system reveals a great weakness in the enforcement of child labor laws. Taking into consideration the number of men and the state appropriation, the state police is not wholly to be condemned. It is inadequate to deal with the problem. Its inspection extends only to factories, workshops and mercantile establishments, and it is not sufficiently equipped to inspect all these places even as frequently as once a year. Inspection also should extend to theaters, tenement shops (the health inspectors are not required to report on child labor) and outdoor employments. Truant officers are permitted, but not required to inspect factories, workshops and mercantile establishments. The district police is the only department now concerned with child labor; its chief field is criminal work, and the reports of the district police contain nothing in regard to child labor except the number of children between fourteen and sixteen found employed in 1908, and the statement that two of the women

inspectors are detailed, in connection with other duties, for enforcement of laws relating to employment of women and children in factories, workshops and mercantile establishments. I have found these inspectors willing to investigate any case reported, although in many instances they have been slow.

Our investigation of facts, then, shows the need of better laws, more adequate statistical investigations of the number of children at work, and a more adequate inspection system.

Children on the Stage

The committee has taken a defensive stand in regard to legislation, and has paid some attention to law enforcement. The only proposed legislation which seemed seriously to affect our position this year was the bill introduced by the theater managers to allow children to appear on the stage. This bill probably would have passed except for efforts of the committee. At a crowded hearing the committee presented arguments which induced the legislative committee to refer the bill to the next General Court. Complete justification of our opposition to this bill is found in the results of this year's campaign of enforcement of the present law. Theaters throughout Massachusetts have been watched, and in twenty cases children under fourteen have been stopped from appearing on the stage. There were probably fully as many more children not detected, the only clue in the case of performances outside Boston being newspapers. There is much sympathy for the employers of stage children, and newspapers have a tendency to favor the theaters, but the evil is one of considerable importance.

It may be unfortunate that the only work of the committee in the direction of law enforcement has been in the case of theaters, for this is a very small part of the field which a committee enforcing child labor laws ought to cover. For this reason it might appear that over-emphasis has been put on theaters. The explanation is that the program of the committee has been one of preparation and investigation, and not one of law enforcement. It was necessary, however, to take up the matter of the theater-law enforcement as a result of the committee's stand in defeating the theater bill. One of the strongest arguments at that hearing in favor of changing the law was that the present law cannot be enforced, and our committee asked for a year to prove it could be enforced. We have conclusive proof that it can be enforced.

An exception in our law, allowing children to be employed in theaters, would be unwise not only as a step in undermining the law with exceptions, but also on its own merits. To a person who sees a performance once and sees a child appearing for fifteen or twenty minutes, it seems like play rather than work; but the physical contortions of the child in dancing and acrobatic performances repeated in exactly the same way every night for a season, the mental bias the child gets from the artificial and over-stimulating life and the moral weakening from the modern play are fully as harmful as the work of messenger boys or mercantile employment and possibly some kinds of factory work. Any one who will stand at the stage door of

a theater at 11.30 or 12 o'clock at night and watch the pathetic face of a small child as he comes from this form of night work will no longer consider it play. There are, of course, several instances of great actors and actresses who made a beginning as children on the stage. This is one of the most common arguments for allowing children to appear. One of the great men of to-day, Booker T. Washington, rose from slavery. That is not a very strong argument for the existence of slavery. In many cases children who appear on the stage are well cared for and probably not greatly injured; the conditions of negro slavery also were beneficial to a few. There are undoubtedly instances where other employments are beneficial to children, but we must legislate for the mass, and not for the individual.

Present Needs

A campaign for legislation to cover the points of weakness, more accurate statistical investigations, a larger detective force in the employ of the committee—possibly a truant officer with power to enter factories and demand certificates of age and schooling—and a more comprehensive state inspection system seem the things our work needs most.

There is another entirely different kind of work we need to do in educating and organizing public opinion. I believe our work ought to be combined with the campaign for industrial education. Child labor reform and industrial education are, in my opinion, so closely interwoven that a public campaign for both separately is not one-half as effective as a campaign for both together. When we tell parents what they ought not to do with their children (*i. e.*, send them to a factory) we should tell them what they ought to do (*i. e.*, send them to an industrial school); and in the same breath that we say to the public that industrial education is a good thing, we must be able to explain why child labor is a pernicious thing. The industrial education advocates need our help as much as we need theirs. They need to be able to say, "There is a law against sending children to work; it is enforced and it ought to be enforced," just as much as we need to say, "Here is the substitute for child labor—industrial education."

RICHARD K. CONANT,
Secretary.

JANUARY 1, 1910.

MICHIGAN CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The legislature of Michigan, in 1909, passed a new child labor law. The obsolete notary public system of issuing working papers is now replaced by a system modeled very closely after the "standard child labor law". A nine-hour day for children (and women also) and the prohibition of night work, were obtained in a number of industries. Unfortunately, night work was not prohibited in stores or in the telegraph and telephone messenger service. This committee used its influence in securing the passage of this law.

We hope to be able to secure next year the prohibition of night work

in the above-mentioned occupations. The secretary believes the law is fairly well enforced; but because the committee has very little financial support, it is impossible to make a careful investigation.

FRANK T. CARLTON,
Secretary.

JANUARY 1, 1910.

INTER-CHURCH CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE, GRAND RAPIDS,
MICHIGAN.

Regular meetings have been held, with interesting discussions on playgrounds, probation work, the work of factory inspectors, of the National Child Labor Committee, and various other subjects pertaining to the welfare of children.

Our legislature does not meet this year, but our child labor and compulsory education laws are pretty clearly codified.

We do not have a salaried secretary. We are keeping five children in school with our industrial scholarship fund. The business men are interested in this work. One man recently sent us a check for fifty dollars.

MRS. H. GAYLORD HOLT,
Chairman.

JANUARY 1, 1910.

MINNESOTA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

Our child labor and compulsory education laws, together with all laws relating to children, have been collected, classified and arranged in convenient form by the State Bureau of Labor, but they have not been clearly codified. It would be most desirable to have a careful compilation. Mrs. Starkweather, one of the members of our committee, is now agitating the subject, and proposes to offer a prize for the best compilation.

Labor, education and health authorities in various cities try to adhere strictly to provisions of our law in relation to compulsory attendance, issuance of certificates and inspection, but there are too many exceptions in the child labor law. The compulsory education law as amended is stringent, and the pressure brought to bear upon the officials is tremendous. The last legislature granted factory inspectors the power of truant officers in districts where they are *requested to act by school boards*. They have been requested to act in 26 separate districts with most gratifying results.

These officials make frequent and lucid reports. The commissioner of labor receives monthly reports from the official who issues certificates; also from the school superintendents and the factory inspectors acting as truant officers. Our educational reports show clearly the difference between school enrollment and school attendance, and the factory inspector's reports show number of children employed, number and cause of accidents, number of inspections, number and results of prosecutions. The State Bureau of Labor secures from the court transcripts of all cases brought into court. Co-operating

with us, the State Bureau of Labor is taking the lead in an active campaign against child labor. It secured the passage of the law giving factory inspectors the power of truancy officers. In that capacity they have investigated 922 cases reported by the school superintendents, with the result that 603 were returned to school, 109 granted employment certificates, 74 excused for short time, 44 have moved, 37 were found attending other schools, 33 excused on doctors' certificates, 17 were over the age limit, 3 graduated from eighth grade and the others committed to state institutions. The last legislature created in the Bureau of Labor a department for women and children. The head of that department (a woman), with the commissioner of labor, has followed up every case reported and has sent more than 6,000 notices to various districts throughout the state.

We are seeking new legislation by an amendment of the child labor laws to require school census in all districts, such as now is required in rural districts only. We do not employ a salaried secretary, but depend on volunteer work. Our work is financially maintained by annual membership dues of \$1 for individuals, \$2 for organizations.

The Minnesota Child Labor Committee has not entered actively into the campaign against child labor. Its chief function thus far has been almost entirely advisory. Its meetings have been chiefly conferences with officials charged to enforce the law.

The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the State Commissioner of Labor and other officials are members of our committee, and are carrying on an active campaign in their respective departments. Five members of the department of labor are also members of our committee. Other agencies co-operating are the Woman's Club of Minneapolis, which took the initiative in the organization of our committee, and whose president is our vice-president; the State Federation of Women's Clubs, whose president is a member of our executive committee; the Associated Charities of both St. Paul and Minneapolis; social settlements; labor unions—eight having appointed delegates to our committee; the ministry, represented by a Protestant minister, Catholic priest and Jewish rabbi on the executive committee; the juvenile court, by one of its judges, and the State University, by the professor of social economics.

We are planning more active work for the coming year. When we are able to meet conditions which govern the necessity of the poverty clause in the child labor law we hope child labor in Minnesota will have become a thing of the past.

MILDRED M. BARNARD,

JANUARY 10, 1910.

Secretary.

CHILDREN'S PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE OF MISSOURI.

The usual decennial revision of the Missouri statutes is now in preparation. It should present a reasonably clear codification of the child labor and compulsory attendance laws. The need of improvement cannot be judged until after the volume of revised statutes appears.

The compulsory attendance law is very unequally enforced in different parts of the state. This is bound to be the case where enforcement is left in the hands of local authorities. In the three large cities, there is reason to believe the enforcement is fairly rigid. Elsewhere, as a rule, it is quite otherwise. Our committee is trying to secure, through the co-operation of the State Teachers' Association, accurate statistics in regard to enforcement of the attendance laws, and an agitation of the subject among teachers and school officials which will focus public attention upon the matter in the districts where the law is now disregarded.

We have the active co-operation of the women's clubs, Social Legislation Committee, labor unions and State Teachers' Association.

The state legislature does not meet before 1911. A number of new statutes will then be sought. The work of the Alliance is supported by voluntary contributions and membership dues.

A. O. LOVEJOY,
Chairman.

JANUARY 1, 1910.

NEBRASKA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

Our child labor and compulsory education laws are companion pieces, straight, strict and easily understood. In operation they are proving competent to the work they were planned to do. Both laws are considered almost ideal from the standpoint of experience, and where we find violations occasionally they are very largely of the letter. The spirit of the laws, their first and inherent purpose, is encouragingly observed.

The compulsory education enforcement is the particular duty of superintendents of schools, and in the large cities there are attendance officers. My observation enables me to say that the compulsory education law is well enforced by these paid officers. The child labor law depends largely on the superintendents and their attendance officers for enforcement. With the exception that two earnest, energetic women—Mrs. Draper Smith, in Omaha, and Miss Mattie Allen, in Lincoln—are now devoting a good deal of time to examine into violations of the child labor law, I will go so far as to say that its enforcement depends, practically, on the city superintendents and their assistants who aim to prevent truancy. Their system is effective, happily, and is winning. Attendance officers, for the superintendents, make reports to the State Labor Commissioner. The Board of Voluntary Inspectors does likewise, if this assistance is needed. The school reports in this state are very good.

Our factory inspection law is a bluff of the most impudent character. The legislature provided for factory inspection by passing a law, then abandoning it. The Labor Commissioner has one assistant, a stenographer, and has a score or more of laws to enforce. When I held the office we made an endeavor to arouse the shame of the state by making public announcement of the fact that most of these laws were absolutely neglected as to enforcement, but without avail. Thus Nebraska steals the credit for having excellent laws relating to economic subjects among examiners who

take our laws at their face value. Really, but two or three have any value at all in this particular field.

As to court cases concerning the child labor law, there are no statistics, aside from the dockets of the juvenile judges.

The women's clubs are hearty backers of the laws on truancy and child labor, and some other organizations are now evincing a disposition to study the matter and to help.

We shall not seek any new legislation unless we can get some real friend in the legislature to make a fight to strengthen the State Labor Bureau.

We have had several public meetings and conferences during the year, and in general the subject is pretty thoroughly worked up in Nebraska. The general public we do not get to our meetings, which are apparently regarded much in the nature of church gatherings—belonging to a certain few. But ground once gained is held, with a very fair measure of success.

We do not employ a salaried secretary. The law was enacted on the demand of the women's clubs and the trades unions. They are its operators, practically, under the general foremanship of the school superintendents. Our dues are \$1 a year from each member, and we have about forty members paying at that rate.

All phases of the work are interesting to interested persons; but to the inquiring mind the most interesting is to watch efforts to ignore or violate the law. Some parents want to make money out of their children, and the employers' end is an endeavor to save money by cheap labor. In some cases the children's work seems necessary to keep the family self-sustaining in the present fierce race for a living. In the case of very few, if any, employers is there anything but *greed* to excuse their hiring of children.

On the whole, there is little to complain of in Nebraska. The law is violated in letter and spirit in isolated instances; but for such a straight-laced, inelastic statute as we have, it is quite generally honored, and it is kept before employers and careless parents by the elements mentioned. There are few who can say they know nothing about it.

JOHN J. RYDER,
Secretary.

JANUARY 9, 1910.

NEW JERSEY CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The contest in New Jersey has been to prevent night work for children under sixteen years of age, but the glass manufacturers are so strong in Southern New Jersey that for three years the bill has been introduced and has been regularly passed by one House and defeated by the other. There seems to be an understanding. The situation in New Jersey does not seem much more hopeful this year. We have no protection for children in any other industry except in factories, and we hope to ask for a good mercantile law, and to pass a law this year that will protect children in other industries. New Jersey wants the sympathy not only of the Middle States, but the whole United States.

MRS. G. W. B. CUSHING,
Chairman.

JANUARY 10, 1910.

NEW YORK CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The committee has continued its work of former years under the following heads:

- (1) Legislation.
- (2) Investigation.
- (3) Study of law enforcement.
- (4) Scholarships.
- (5) Statistical and research work.

LEGISLATION.

Six measures relating to child labor were introduced in the New York Legislature during 1909. The following were enacted into law:

- (1) State Department of Education amendment to compulsory education law.

Changing the minimum compulsory attendance age from 8 to 7 for cities with a population of 5000 and upwards; extending the compulsory attendance period to cover entire time school attended is in session, instead of from October 1st to June 1st, and strengthening the provisions regarding prosecution of parents and employers for keeping children unlawfully from school.

- (2) Amendment to labor law.

Department of Labor bill to make more effective the work of prosecuting employers.

- (3) Child Labor Committee bill amending labor law.

Adding by name 27 kinds of machinery, or dangerous occupations, employment in or in connection with which is forbidden for children under sixteen.

The measures which failed of passage were:

- (1) Department of Labor amendment to labor law.

Extending definition of term factory so as to include employment of children in cannery sheds.

- (2) Department of Labor bill amending labor law.

To extend provision of mercantile law, particularly with respect to girls and women over sixteen, to make law correspond more nearly with similar provisions of factory law.

- (3) Department of Labor bill amending labor law.

To prevent an employer in a damage suit putting in the claim of contributory negligence in connection with a child injured when in his employ if such employment was contrary to the law.

INVESTIGATION.

The work of the committee's two special agents located in the offices where employment certificates are issued (described at length in report to Chicago conference, see page 190, report of fifth annual conference of the National Committee), has been continued with increasing success. By this means an insight, otherwise difficult to obtain, has been secured regarding the actual educational and physical preparation of the children who go to work in New York City.

LAW ENFORCEMENT.

Hon. John Williams, Commissioner of Labor, has continued to maintain his record of former years in giving vigorous and successful enforcement of the labor law. From his report just issued it appears that *illegal* factory child labor has been reduced for the entire state to 822 cases. The striking advance thus shown can only be appreciated by a glance at the following figures:

ILLEGAL FACTORY CHILD LABOR.

Children illegally employed in factories, 1906.....	3,600
Children illegally employed in factories, 1907.....	2,500
Children illegally employed in factories, 1908.....	1,633
Children illegally employed in factories, 1909.....	822

The Department of Labor has had for one year the inspection of department stores and other mercantile establishments for New York City, Buffalo and Rochester. The need of putting this work under the Department of Labor was urged for years by our committee, and finally brought to a successful culmination at the 1907 legislature. The results more than justify the committee's contention that local health officers could not be expected to enforce properly this law, and that it was logical to charge the Labor Department with this duty. This department found in the cities mentioned in approximately 7200 establishments 6000 children under sixteen employed, of whom 3171, or 51 per cent., were at work illegally.

The enforcement of the compulsory education law by the school authorities, particularly in New York City, has shown some improvement, although violations frequently come to the attention of the committee. A new Permanent School Census Board has been established, and it is the hope of the committee that this may be a powerful factor in bringing about a better enforcement of this law.

The newsboy law, the enforcement of which rests jointly upon the educational authorities and the police, has been spasmodically enforced during the past year. The police do nothing in the matter, and only three school attendance officers are assigned in New York City to give entire time to this law. In Greater New York during the school year ending June 30, 1909, approximately 5100 badges were issued, 2500 violations observed, but only 239 arrests were made. Lack of co-operation on the part of the courts is assigned for the failure to make more arrests.

The work of issuing employment certificates, especially in New York City, is being carried on with increasing efficiency. In up-state cities much remains to be done to bring about a more general compliance with the law.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

The plan of granting scholarships to children unable to work legally has been continued by the committee in 48 instances where it was found the earnings were needed to prevent actual hardship to the family. The fact that more than three times this number, upon investigation, were found not

to need financial assistance shows, to a large extent, the error of the commonly accepted belief that poverty should justify an exception in the law's enforcement. This scholarship work is carried on entirely by private subscriptions, the largest giver being an active member of the Child Labor Committee.

STATISTICAL AND RESEARCH WORK.

Considerable time has been given to statistical studies regarding the work of issuing employment certificates, school attendance law enforcement in this city compared with London, and preparation of a bulletin giving directions for securing foreign-birth certificates.

THIS YEAR'S WORK.

Special attention will be given by the committee during the coming year to law enforcement and conditions prevailing in the larger cities in this state outside of Greater New York. To do this work the committee expects to place in the field a traveling secretary. The introduction of a number of measures to strengthen weak points in the present law or to extend the law to phases of child labor not yet covered is contemplated by the committee during the next few weeks.

GEORGE A. HALL,
Secretary.

JANUARY 10, 1910.

NORTH CAROLINA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

I have to report for North Carolina that:

We have a child labor law of only a few paragraphs. Our compulsory education law is only a permissive act. I believe not a single district has as yet availed itself of the provisions of this law. We have no labor inspector. We have no way to enforce the present law, which is a very poor one in many ways.

Our law punishes (on paper only) false statements as to age of children seeking employment. But we have no machinery to enforce this section, no registration and no inspection.

Our educational reports, local and state, show the difference between school enrollment and attendance, but no permanent records of individual children are kept.

Our committee does very little. We greatly need a more effective organization with which to carry on an aggressive campaign.

We have no salaried officer and no system of financing our work. Each member of the committee "finances" himself, and devotes very little time to the work.

We urge the active co-operation of the National Child Labor Committee in face of the general lack of interest on this important subject.

CHARLES L. COON,
Secretary.

DECEMBER 10, 1909.

~~THE WHITE LABOR COMMISSION~~

[illegible]

The results of the investigation recently made by the National Committee are mentioned in the night-messenger service in Columbus, Cleveland and Cincinnati are now being considered by the members of the Executive Board and a special meeting will soon be held for the purpose of deciding upon appropriate action.

Foreign employers have proposed an amendment of the present Child Labor Law of this country the eight-hour day for boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen would be changed to a nine-hour day for all children under sixteen. The Ohio Child Labor Committee is opposed to this amendment and is preparing a fight such a bill if presented.

The child labor and compulsory education laws of Ohio are not clearly applied and a careful compilation should be made and submitted to the proper authorities with a view to having the legislature modify them.

The education authorities in Chin cities adhere satisfactorily to problems of law in relation to compulsory attendance and issuance of employment certificate. In the Department of Inspection of Workshops and Factories, however, there has been almost an entire change of personnel, and it is consequently impossible at present to state accurately whether the new labor inspectors are properly performing their duties with respect to the requirements of the child labor law.

The reports of the School Commissioner and Superintendents are published annually and are quite detailed and useful. The same, however, cannot be said of the past reports of the Department of Inspection of Workshops and Factories with respect to the employment of child labor, ages, hours, kind of work, accidents, etc., not being stated in such a way that the information can be of use.

Educational reports show clearly the difference between school enrollment and school attendance. The only means we have of collecting information regarding court cases under the child labor law is to apply to the Department of Inspection of Workshops and Factories. The press of the large cities, as a rule, is not inclined to publish statements relative to the child labor campaign, which would be helpful, but there are, nevertheless, several newspapers in the state which have taken a strong position in the matter of

child labor restriction and stand unequivocally for the principles on which this movement rests.

DECEMBER 24, 1909.

ALBERT H. FREIBERG,
Chairman, Executive Board.

WARREN (OHIO) CHILD LABOR LEAGUE.

In order to give the superintendent time to work out his new plan, and having entire confidence in the sympathy and co-operation both of himself and the truant officer, the Executive Committee has not this year appointed an investigating committee of its own. It obtains its knowledge of the progress of the work from the superintendent himself, who is also a member of the Executive Committee. The following statement from the City Superintendent of Instruction fully explains the method employed.

Miss Phebe Sutliff, Chairman, Child Labor Committee, Warren, Ohio:

DEAR MADAM: I hereby submit to your committee the following report of the means now used in this office of locating resident children between the ages of eight and fourteen years not attending any of the public schools of the city, and also children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years who have not been granted a schooling certificate and who are not in attendance at any of the public schools.

At the time the school enumeration was taken, in May, 1909, the enumerators were required to report to this office the names, ages, name of parent or guardian and residence of all children living in the city district, classified by streets. The report thus submitted shows every residence on a street arranged in the order of house numbers at which children of school age reside. Care was used in compiling this report, and we believe that it was quite accurate with respect to the data required when filed with us at the completion of the work. The enumerators were paid by the School Board for this additional service.

At the opening of the public schools in September, the teachers were required to file in this office the following registration card, properly filled out, one for each child enrolled in the public schools:

NameAge.....
Street.....No.....
Parent's or guardian's name.....

SCHOOL REGISTRATION.

Building.....Grade.....
Date of Admission.....
Teacher's name

After all the cards had thus been filed they were classified according to streets and arranged in the same order as found in the enumerator's report

with respect to residences. This work was also done with considerable care, to the end that we might have all necessary data with respect to the residence of every child enrolled in the public schools.

By comparing the cards, showing the residence of all children enrolled in the public schools and living on a particular street, with the enumerator's report of that street, having the same order of residence numbers on the cards as in the enumerator's report, it is quite easy to find the names and residence of children between the ages of eight and sixteen on the enumerator's report not accounted for in the public school enrollment and as shown by the card.

This system of reports seems the best we have at any time employed for locating resident children not meeting the requirement of the compulsory education law. Our experience thus far leads us to feel that with improvement in a few minor details, these reports will give the most ready, accurate and satisfactory results with respect to matters herein contained that we have at any time obtained.

Respectfully submitted,

C. E. CAREY,

Superintendent of Public Instruction.

For the support of our local work, the league is now experimenting with a dual membership. All persons contributing two dollars are members of the league by virtue of their associate membership in the National Committee. All persons contributing less than two dollars are members of the local league only, and their fees are used to support the local work. The national membership dues are collected before the local dues, which seem thus far not to have interfered with the national dues.

The Child Labor Committee has recently appointed a committee of three from its own membership to confer with the various charitable organizations of the city upon the subject of federating such organizations. The result of this step is as yet uncertain.

On the 29th of March, 1909, Mr. E. N. Clopper addressed the Warren League at an open meeting on the "Conditions of Child Labor in the Ohio Valley States."

PHEBE T. SUTLIFF,

Chairman of Executive Committee.

JANUARY, 1910.

PENNSYLVANIA CHILD LABOR ASSOCIATION.

A full account of this association's successful legislative campaign was published in the "Survey" under date of May 29, 1909.

Our efforts since the passage of the two new bills have been to co-operate with those on whom enforcement devolves—chiefly school officials—our campaign against the reappointment of Chief Factory Inspector Delaney for another four-year term having been unsuccessful last May. We have had the

continual co-operation of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, and of the superintendents of schools in the larger cities. At our suggestion, Dr. Schaeffer asked the Attorney General for an opinion on the question whether children employed on the old, more or less worthless affidavits would be required, under the new law, to obtain new certificates. Fortunately for the children, and almost without precedent in child labor legislation, the Attorney General ruled that all affidavits became void when the new law took effect, January 1, 1910, and that the children working on these must secure the new certificates or leave their places of employment. The results are just beginning to show. In some places 10, 20 and 30 per cent. of the children already at work on old affidavits are being refused the new certificates and sent back to school.

At our association's suggestion, also, the state superintendent required a stub record of all certificates issued, on which he further required the issuer to indicate what proof of age he accepted in each case. Because of the existence of this stub record, as secretary of our association, I have been able to check up the care or carelessness of superintendents in issuing certificates, more than half my time being spent in traveling from one city to another for this purpose.

During November last nearly all the superintendents of schools in the larger cities were urged, by personal visits to make demand on employers in their cities for lists of all children employed. This was a month or more before the new law took effect, and right to make the demand was based on a requirement in the compulsory education law—a requirement which almost everywhere had been a dead letter for eight years. Most of the men visited were glad to act upon the suggestion, and the lists so secured will soon prove their value. By comparing the children there named, all of whom ought to apply for the new certificates, with the children recorded on certificate stubs as having received certificates, it is possible for each superintendent to know what children are still illegally at work and to cause their discharge, taking action under the compulsory education law. We are thus, to a large extent, independent of any lax enforcement of which the factory inspectors may be guilty.

We have two unfortunate facts to record. The chief mine inspector has interpreted the new law, on a technicality, as lowering from 16 to 14 the age at which children may work underground in the anthracite region. Similarly the chief factory inspector has interpreted the exception in our night-work prohibition clause—the exception which, it was assumed, allowed night work only in the glass industry—to be broad enough to cover the messenger service and so allow all-night work in that demoralizing occupation.

The school officials, who are now the sole issuers of employment certificates, are, as a rule, justifying the confidence of those who placed this authority in their hands. A few cases of laxity have been discovered, but the action of the chief inspector of mines and the chief factory inspector, in response, undoubtedly, to the widespread interest aroused by last winter's campaign, will tend to keep such violations down to the minimum. The

chief factory inspector is now prosecuting one school superintendent on the charge of signing employment certificates in blank and distributing these to the foremen of factories, to be filled out for the children they employ, and the chief inspector of mines has announced that his inspectors must examine all children found at work as to their ability to read and write in the English language, using as a test of this the child's ability to read the child labor law. He has further instructed the inspectors that if any child fails in this test, the certificate must be taken up, the child discharged, and prosecution instituted against the school official who issued the certificate. To read the child labor law intelligently is a fairly severe test, and the announcement in newspapers that this is to be the test applied by the mine inspectors has had a wonderfully stimulating effect upon the school officials who make the original examination before issuing certificates.

As no legislature meets during the present winter, no steps to improve the law can be taken until the year 1911.

FRED S. HALL,
Secretary.

JANUARY 13, 1910.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON CHILD LABOR IN RHODE ISLAND.

Efforts to secure improvement in the factory inspection laws of Rhode Island were, for the year 1909 as for the year 1908, carried on by the so-called "joint committee", composed of delegates representing some of the leading educational and philanthropic organizations of the state, as well as the Federation of Women's Clubs and the local Council of Women.

A bill asking for four amendments to the present laws was introduced into the senate early in the season. These amendments were: (1) To limit the day's work for children under 16 years of age to 7 P. M. instead of 8 P. M.; (2) that the privilege held by mercantile establishments to keep children under 16 late on Saturday nights and for the four days preceding Christmas should be withdrawn; (3) that ability to read and write simple sentences in English should be required before children under 16 years of age can be employed (at present no educational test is required, and Rhode Island bears the record for illiteracy of all states north of Mason and Dixon's line); (4) that the factory inspectors, finding children seemingly under 16 years of age at work without an age and employment certificate, may require evidence within ten days as to the age of such child similar to that required for securing a working certificate, failure to produce and file such evidence by the employer being *prima facie* evidence in any prosecution brought for violation of the laws.

Over a year's time was suggested before the educational test should be in force to allow children at work under present laws to keep their places.

It required all the influence and publicity the joint committee could secure to prevent the bill from being pigeonholed. Three interesting hearings were held in the State House before the Committee on Special Legislation. The bill was twice brought out from the committee room, but without recommendation, and twice its friends secured its return in order to prevent

an unfavorable vote. On the last day of the assembly, shorn of all but its educational test, it was again brought up for consideration and failed by a small majority.

The fact that the Labor Party had secured the passage of a 56-hour week for all women and children in factories early in the season was one reason most generally assigned for the failure. Such a concession from the manufacturers was deemed all that could be forced upon them in one year.

A committee was authorized by the state legislature a few years ago to recodify the laws. In so far as can be learned from the state librarian, their work consisted in codifying each division of the laws separately, not in a comparative or harmonizing codification. The educational laws at present are not in harmony with the child labor laws. Compulsory education is from 7 to 15 years; exceptions are permitted if the child is physically or mentally incompetent, or is 12 years of age and employment is necessary for the support of the family, or is destitute of clothing.

The truant officers in the cities of the state claim they act under the provisions of the factory law, which imposes the giving of working certificates upon certain definite evidence that the age of 14 has been reached. In the mill towns there has been less circumspection, judging from published reports of local school superintendents. Reports are made annually by the factory inspectors, but in general terms, as to the number of places visited, the character of employment, the number of employees (classified as male and female with children under 16 separately listed); and as all sanitary provisions and dangerous machinery are left to the personal judgment of the inspector, he puts under the captions "excellent", "very good", "good", "fair" and "poor", his impressions of each place visited, as well as his action.

The last report *in print*, that for 1908 (fifteenth annual report), states that the inspectors visited 1,913 places. They made 17 recommendations; 11 of these sent children out to secure certificates, 3 related to protecting dangerous machinery, 2 to the cleaning of closets, one of these in an establishment whose sanitary conditions were pronounced excellent, and 1 boy in a small Newport butter-and-egg establishment employing 6 persons was found to be under 14 years of age, and discharged. No prosecutions were made.

The annual report of the factory inspector for 1909 was presented to the legislature this week and ordered printed. *For the first time* (January 5th) the inspector reports prosecutions, stating 4 were made and are now pending in the courts. There was an increase of 607 in the number of children employed in 1909 over that of 1908, but as the number of adult workers also increased, the percentage of children to adults remains the same in the textile industries—5.8 per cent.

In the 1,913 places visited, the inspector reported but one place, a millinery shop employing 5 hands, in a poor sanitary condition. Rhode Island, meantime, with such a clean bill of sanitation, stands ominously near the head of the list of states in its death rate.

The truant officer of Providence, in his report for the year ending 1908, stated 181 persons (mostly parents) were prosecuted for violation of the school attendance law.

Dr. J. K. Towle, in his paper, "Factory Legislation of Rhode Island", published by the American Economic Association in October, 1908, states that such statistics as the inspector publishes in his annual report relating to children under 16 years of age, are probably not of much value. "They are based upon returns made by the employers, and seemingly no attempt is made by the inspectors to ascertain if such returns are accurate. . . . There is no reason why the employer should have his workers classified according to age periods. The employer knows the total number of his employees, and in making out a report card he probably makes a rough guess as to how many are under 16." In order to obtain information as to the administration of the laws, Dr. Towle not only accompanied the inspectors upon their visits to some dozen factories in the larger mill centers, but worked himself as a laborer in Providence and the Blackstone Valley, so as to come in contact with factory workers. He found the greater number of the mill workers of the opinion that the administration of the factory laws was a "farce". The trades unions' officers, without exception, were of this opinion.

The law requires that accidents of a fatal character shall be reported within 48 hours after their occurrence and all accidents which prevent the injured person from returning to work within two weeks shall, by the third week after such accident, be reported in writing. Dr. Towle states in his pamphlet that the inspector admitted he secured knowledge of most accidents that occurred through the newspapers. Those about which they secure information are mentioned in the report. In 1908, 87 accidents were reported. As no prosecutions are made, no records are available.

The annual report of the secretary of the State Board of Education shows clearly the differences between school enrollment and school attendance, as do the reports of the Providence truant officers.

The joint committee, during its last campaign, secured the co-operation of the public press, and the *Providence Journal* especially gave frequent articles on the evils of child labor in the state, both in its news and editorial columns.

The State Federation of Ministers passed resolutions endorsing the action taken by the joint committee in presenting the bill asking amendments to the factory laws. The joint committee is a delegate body, representing a wide constituency. The Barnard Club, a men's club representing the college professors and the high-school teachers throughout the state, sent a delegate to the committee. The Rhode Island Child Labor Committee; the Providence Public School Teachers' Association, the male teachers of the city; the Providence Public Education Association, representing that force in the city desirous of keeping our schools equal to the progressive schools of the country; the Providence Society for Organizing Charity; the Rhode Island Consumers' League; the Local Council of Women and the State Federation of Women were all identified with this joint committee, the chairman of the committee being chairman of the Child Labor Committee of the Federated Clubs. In 1909 the Federated Clubs voted to pay for such printing as its Child Labor Committee deemed necessary in its campaign in behalf of the child labor bill. With this appropriation, 1500 copies of a "simplified statement of the present factory laws" as pertaining to women and children in

Rhode Island, with desired amendments carefully outlined and explained, were circulated with the request that each one receiving a copy would use all available influence to forward the joint committee's efforts. The Rhode Island Consumers' League voted a sum to defray the cost of a special appeal in the form of a personal letter addressed to each senator and placed upon his desk the day the bill came up on the senate calendar. No salaried secretary is employed. The chairman of the joint committee has acted as secretary, and Edward Stockwell, a lawyer of Providence, has given his services for legal advice and assistance.

An informal discussion on the future action of the joint committee showed an agreement among its members to leave the definite formulation of a bill for this year until after the conference of the National Child Labor Committee in Boston. The Rhode Island Consumers' League is planning a public meeting in the interests of child labor.

MRS. CARL BARUS,

JANUARY 10, 1910.

Chairman.

WEST VIRGINIA CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

The West Virginia Child Labor Committee was organized December 17, 1908. B. F. Allison, of Wheeling, acted as chairman. The speakers were Owen R. Lovejoy and E. N. Clopper. A bill was immediately formulated to be introduced in the legislature to secure better enforcement of the present fourteen-year age limit. The bill was defeated.

The execution of our child labor law is in the hands of the Commissioner of Labor. Under the mining law the inspector of mines is charged with enforcing the fourteen-year age limit for boys employed in mines.

I. V. Barton, the present Commissioner of Labor, is supposed to visit every factory throughout the state and report any cases of violations of child labor to the prosecuting attorney of such counties. Mr. Barton has issued certificates to the factories, and it is their duty to have parents or guardians sign these, certifying that the child employed is over fourteen. At present one factory alone employs over twenty boys under fourteen, yet the parents or guardians of all these boys have sworn they were fourteen. But little attention is paid to a child's age in our state, yet we have one case on record which should encourage us. On January 7, 1907, a boy thirteen years and nine months old was injured in a coal mine, operated by the Lanark Fuel Company. The boy's leg was amputated. He sued the company and obtained a judgment for \$8,000, and the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia affirmed the verdict. It is our hope that the inauguration of rigid factory inspection, requirement of teachers' certificates as to class standing, and shorter hours of labor will be the ultimate results of the efforts of the West Virginia Committee.

NOLA MCKINNEY,

JANUARY 13, 1910.

Secretary.

WISCONSIN CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

Wisconsin is glad to report that several long steps forward were taken in the improvement of child labor laws by the Wisconsin legislature of 1909.

In our report to the annual conference in Chicago, January, 1909, we called attention to some necessary changes in the Wisconsin law. Almost without exception, although not without sharp opposition, and only at the end of the session, these changes were made and the Wisconsin child labor law strengthened.

The following were the principal points gained:

1. No permit for work can be given unless the child has a written and signed recommendation from his school principal or other school official authorizing his employment within such time or times as the official granting the permit shall fix.
2. The "perishable-goods" clause of 1907 was struck out of the law.
3. The clause of 1907, permitting children under 14 years of age and without restriction to be employed at "outdoor occupations" not dangerous to life or limb (other than farming), was also struck out of the law.
4. The provisions as to theatrical or like work by young children was made much more stringent.
5. The words "at any gainful occupation" were restored to the law, so that children anywhere employed for wages come under the law.—the 1907 act having required a permit for children between fourteen and sixteen years only in case of certain specified trades.

The most wide-reaching of these changes—the educational requirement—has already begun to justify itself, and the factory inspector's office, where a large number of permits are given, is greatly aided by the requirement that a recommendation of principal or other school officer must accompany application for permit. It has long been the wish of Wisconsin students of this problem that we could have the educational test applied by other officers than by those who grant the permit to work, and in this the factory inspector's office heartily joins.

For the first time we have a practical method of compelling children of lawful age, but defective scholarship, to study further before they are granted permit to work. The law is greatly strengthened by the prohibition of night work for children under 16, and by the revocation of the exemption permitting children under 14 to work without restriction in order to save perishable goods and in all outdoor work other than farming.

We were in receipt of many complaints that children were employed at night in canneries and similar factories, and were employed in the winter at heavy work, in the ice-cutting season, both of these being important industries in Wisconsin. The very complete and thorough provisions of the law of 1907 as to employments forbidden children under sixteen years were left untouched, as they are working thoroughly well, and a recent decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin upheld the law prohibiting a child under sixteen years from working in any place where liquor is given away or sold, deciding that a beer-garden is such a place.

STREET TRADES.

As we stated in our report to the conference of 1909, the regulation of street trades and newsboys' work was greatly needed, especially in Milwaukee, the only large city of the state. The legislature of 1909 passed, with the usual opposition, and only after the earnest work which attends every child labor legislation gain, a street trades and newsboys' act for the city of Milwaukee. The general provisions of the law are as follows:

No boy under ten and no girl under sixteen can sell or offer to sell newspapers, magazines or periodicals in any street or public place; and no boy under twelve or girl under sixteen can be employed in street trades or distributing handbills or offering merchandise for sale. Boys under fourteen years of age, before entering upon the sale or delivery of newspapers or any work in street trades, must comply with all legal school requirements and have a permit and badge issued by the state factory inspector or a judge. Neither permit nor badge can be issued until application for them has been received in writing from the parent or guardian of the child and until a certificate has been received from the principal of the school which the child is attending, showing his grade and standing in school. Before a permit is issued, the officer must be satisfied that the child is mentally and physically able to work at street trades in addition to his studies. The stringent provision of the child labor law of Wisconsin requiring proof of a child's age applies in every particular to the issuance of newsboys' or street-trade permits.

The permit must state the name and age of the child, and must describe him by distinguishing facial marks and height and weight. The badge must be worn conspicuously. All permits and badges expire yearly on January 1st, and the color of the badge is changed annually. The hours of selling papers or working at street trades are limited to the time when schools are not in session, and by "late and early" restrictions. For the first offense against the law the badge and permit are taken away, and for the second the child is brought before the Juvenile Court, but no fine is provided. Boys are forbidden to loiter or remain around any newspaper office between the hours of 9 A. M. and 3 P. M.

The principal street trades in which children are engaged in Milwaukee are as newsboys, bootblacks, in distribution of handbills and the selling of small articles of merchandise. Practically all children engaged in street trades are enrolled in some school, but the Truancy Department and Juvenile Court officials are constantly occupied in enforcing the provision that these street trades shall not be carried on during school hours. The law has been in operation only a short time.

The factory inspector's office in Milwaukee estimates that there are 3,500 children in the city affected by the provisions of the street trades and newsboy law. Thus far the law has been well received, and its results are already satisfactory. We hope to make a more detailed report upon its working to the conference of 1911.

ENFORCEMENT

On the general child labor situation there are some interesting things to be said.

First, the factory inspector's office in Milwaukee has for about a year required a note or statement from the prospective employer of every child to the effect that should the child be able to obtain permit to work, the employer would give it a position. We are informed that this has resulted in preventing a great deal of shifting of child labor from one place to another, and the requirement meets the approval of all leading employers of children.

There is also an earnest following up of permits issued to children who have left the place of employment for which they obtained a permit. The value of such investigations as these and of a special investigation now being conducted as to the families and home surroundings of children working under permits can hardly be over-estimated. The fifty-five-hours-a-week clause in the law remains unchanged. It is working well, and is steadily reducing the number of children employed between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. In spite of the rapid growth of the state, child labor is being lessened and employers are in greater numbers recognizing the fact that the labor of children between fourteen and sixteen is wrong on humanitarian grounds, and in a great number of cases not profitable to the employer. The number of permits issued in the year beginning July 1, 1908, in Milwaukee County is about 4,200—2,250 to boys and 1,950 to girls. The number issued outside the city is much less, probably not exceeding 2,000. In the city of Milwaukee permits are issued wholly through the factory inspector's office. In various counties the county judges issue a large number of the permits, but they are co-operating with the factory inspectors and are following up closely the methods under which permits are issued, with the result that the county judges are more careful and are following a more uniform system in issuing permits.

There have been fewer prosecutions for the illegal employment of children during the year 1909 than for any previous year, because the law is being far better obeyed.

Again we record our indebtedness to the Juvenile Court and the Truancy Department of the school board of Milwaukee for efficient aid in enforcing the child labor law. The remarkable increase of study of child life and its attendant problems on the part of citizens of the state is helping constantly in law enforcement, and is preparing the public mind for stricter regulation in the future of the work of children under sixteen years. The factory inspector's force consists of a chief inspector and eleven assistants, and can point to a record of unselfish and splendid work. Wisconsin needs a stronger child labor committee and visits more frequently from national secretaries.

EDWARD W. FROST,
Chairman.

JANUARY, 1910.

THE SOUTHERN STATES.

VIRGINIA

Virginia has just reached the fourteen-year-age limit this year, according to the law passed by the last legislature. I have had one meeting with the

Richmond members of the Virginia Child Labor Committee, but plans have not yet been formulated for the present legislative session. The Commissioner of Labor is asking for increased appropriations and for more factory inspectors to enforce the child labor law.

SOUTH CAROLINA

The South Carolina Legislature, in its last session, passed a factory inspection bill, but, unfortunately, the law limiting the hours to ten a day or sixty a week was changed so that while the sixty-hour week is retained, children are permitted to work eleven hours a day. A South Carolina Child Labor Committee has just been formed, and is now conferring with a committee from the Manufacturers' Association, with the hope of agreeing upon some improvements to the present South Carolina law.

GEORGIA

In Georgia the State Child Labor Committee is behind the child labor and factory inspection bills, which have been introduced and will be pressed at the second legislative term this summer.

FLORIDA

In Florida the effort to raise the age limit to fourteen failed, though the bill passed the House. The Senate was favorable to the passage of the bill, but it was introduced too late in the session to be reached on the calendar.

ALABAMA

At the extra session of the Alabama legislature the child labor law of the regular session was re-enacted, there having arisen some question as to its passage in constitutional form. The Alabama Child Labor Committee was alert to see that no changes were made in the law as it was finally placed upon the statute books.

MISSISSIPPI

I have had some correspondence with the members of the Mississippi Child Labor Committee, but have not yet learned what their plans are for the amendment of the present law at the meeting of the legislature this winter.

TENNESSEE

In Tennessee the State Child Labor Committee endorsed a factory inspection bill, giving police power to the state factory inspector. A compulsory education bill, also endorsed by the state committee, was passed, applying to eighteen counties of the state.

ARKANSAS

A compulsory education bill was passed by the legislature of Arkansas, applying to thirty counties.

OKLAHOMA

In Oklahoma the child labor bill which had been vetoed by the governor in the preceding legislature was enacted, with some improvements, and this time was signed and became law. The people of Oklahoma are to be congratulated on beginning their industrial history as a state with advanced legislation for the protection of children.

TEXAS

In Texas a Bureau of Labor was established, with a department of factory inspection, which has been quite active in investigating conditions and enforcing the law.

January 10, 1910.

A. J. MCKELWAY,
Secretary for Southern States.

Annual Report of the General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee

For the Fifth Fiscal Year, Ended September 30, 1909.

The year's work may best be summarized under the following topics:

I. LEGISLATION—STATE:

Legislative activities are shown in the following states: Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

Many of these activities are outlined in reports of the district secretaries.

SOUTHERN STATES:

In South Carolina a very creditable advance was made in the adoption of a system of factory inspection. On the other hand the Legislature extended the hours of work permitted per day to eleven, under the impression, it is believed, that the former law did not actually limit to a ten-hour day.

In North Carolina the compromise bill agreed to by our representatives and the cotton manufacturers passed the House, but was killed in the Senate. Its defeat was charged by the friends of the bill to bad faith on the part of the manufacturers.

In Florida a bill was presented in both houses, but failed for lack of time, probably due to Dr. McKelway's inability to push it forward during the opening days of the session on account of his duties elsewhere.

In Georgia several important bills were introduced and are in good position for the second term, which meets next summer.

NEW ENGLAND:

The most important change in New England was in *Maine*, where bills were adopted requiring an educational test for children seeking employment, reducing the hours from sixty to fifty-eight per week, and considerably extending the scope of the law.

In Rhode Island a bill was passed reducing the hours for women and children from sixty to fifty-six per week. This places Rhode Island with Massachusetts ahead of all other New England states in hours of employment for children.

In Massachusetts an important victory was gained by the defeat of an attempt to exempt theatres from the operation of the child labor law.

The only legislative change in *Connecticut* was an enactment by which

enforcement of existing laws is made more effective, while the former limit of ten hours a day no longer applies to women and children under sixteen in mercantile establishments.

In addition to the states included in the fields of the District Secretaries, the year's record shows the following important changes:

Pennsylvania made the most notable advance in years by the enactment of a law requiring adequate proof of age of children seeking employment, and issuance of certificates by school authorities. Thus, the hitherto fatal defect in efforts to regulate employment of little children in that state is removed. We believe the new law will be particularly gratifying to fair-minded employers who were imposed upon by the easy evasions of the old law. The attempt to limit the hours of labor or to prohibit night work of children under sixteen was again defeated. The influence of glass manufacturers was responsible for the defeat of the night clause, as was also the case in New Jersey, West Virginia and Indiana.

The Cannery.—That the representatives of the fruit and vegetable canning industry constitute a force to be reckoned with in any further attempts to regulate child labor was shown in several instances. In Michigan and Delaware, where laws restricting night work were enacted, canning establishments were exempted, while Michigan also exempted telephone and telegraph messengers and employees in the United States Postal service, and Delaware exempted basket factories. New York again failed to throw any protection about the small children and babies who work inhuman hours in the cannery sheds of the state.

Dangerous Occupations.—New York passed a bill specifying a list of dangerous occupations forbidden to children under sixteen. Restrictions of employment in dangerous occupations were also secured in North Dakota and Oklahoma.

The year's record shows a *reduction of hours* in the following states:

Michigan to fifty-four hours a week for all women and for males under eighteen.

Kansas to eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week.

Oklahoma to eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week.

North Dakota to eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week.

Delaware to nine-hour day and fifty-four-hour week.

Maine to ten-hour day and fifty-eight-hour week for boys under sixteen, and girls under eighteen.

Rhode Island to fifty-six-hour week for minors under sixteen and all women.

To the states *forbidding night work* are added: Delaware, Kansas, North Dakota, Michigan, Oklahoma, California [extended prohibition of night work for children under sixteen, to apply to hotels, restaurants and the messenger service].

Iowa passed a law requiring the standard provision for proof of age.

Factory Inspection.—Delaware conferred upon the factory inspector authority to enter and inspect factories.

Washington appointed an assistant labor commissioner.

Minnesota appointed a woman assistant factory inspector and provided for a special investigation.

California appointed a resident labor inspector in Los Angeles, a service the people of the city have long sought.

Oklahoma and North Dakota passed new laws substantially modeled after "the standard law."

Compulsory education laws were passed in:

Arkansas, applying to thirty counties, and Tennessee, applying to eighteen counties.

New Jersey revised the compulsory school law to permit children over fourteen on certain conditions to be excused by local school authorities.

New York reduced the minimum age (eight years) for compulsory school attendance to seven years.

Missouri extended the compulsory school attendance law to the entire state.

Street Trades.—Important laws were passed regulating street trades by the city council in Cincinnati, and by the legislature of Wisconsin, applying to Milwaukee.

We should especially note in the record for the year the *legislative defeats*, due either to weakness of our forces, or to earnestness and strength of the opposition. Following are the more important:

Connecticut: The street trades bill and the bill to regulate hours.

Rhode Island: Everything except regulation of hours for minors and women.

Indiana, New Jersey and Pennsylvania: Restriction of night work.

West Virginia: Bill regulating hours, age limit and inspection.

Georgia and Florida: Bill to reduce hours and regulate age.

Missouri: Everything, except the compulsory education law.

North Carolina: Bill to raise age limit and reduce hours.

FEDERAL:

Work in the interest of the *Federal Children's Bureau* has been our chief general activity. The bill was introduced early in the second session of the Sixtieth Congress by Senator W. Murray Crane of Massachusetts and Representative Herbert Parsons of New York. Dr. McKelway from the Southern office was placed in charge of the campaign in Washington and spent several months there. The bill was considered and approved by the committees in charge in both houses, but failed to be reached on the calendar. Widespread interest in the measure was developed and a number of national and local organizations sent strong resolutions and personal letters to Congressmen urging its adoption.

On January 25th and 26th a Conference on Dependent Children was called by President Roosevelt at the White House and among the measures considered in behalf of dependent children was the establishment of this bureau. A resolution urging it was unanimously passed, together with a request for

a special message from the President, which he sent to Congress on February 15th.

The bill was again presented in the special session by Senator Frank P. Flint of California and Representative Parsons, and stands on the calendar as Senate bill 423 and H. R. bill 3654.

In the interest of the Federal Children's Bureau 40,000 letters were sent from this office during the year.

Dr. McKelway will be stationed at Washington during the forthcoming Congressional session to take personal charge of the campaign. Office headquarters will be opened at 202 Bond Building, where correspondence relating to the bureau should be addressed.

II. THE COURTS:

A review of the *court decisions*, whether cases of violation of child labor laws, testing of constitutionality, or suits for damages to working children, indicates a growing appreciation in judicial circles of the exactions of modern industry and the social obligation to shield our youth from the hazards and over-strain of improper employment.

This has particularly appeared in the case of *Ewing vs. Lanark Fuel Company* before the Supreme Court of West Virginia, in which \$8,000 was awarded a thirteen-year-old boy for loss of a leg while working in a coal mine; and in the defence of the constitutionality of the Louisiana child labor law by Judge Wilson of New Orleans in a case involving employment of a ten-year-old girl in vaudeville.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court handed down by Mr. Justice Brewer in the case of *Curt Miller vs. The State of Oregon* is already familiar. While applying directly to regulation of hours of working women, it applies with equal force to children, and together with the brief prepared by Miss Josephine Goldmark and Mr. Brandeis for the National Consumers' League constitutes a new element in legal literature. Ancient precedents are adjusted to facts of our industrial age and hitherto impossible standards are established with a skill which at once gratifies the social worker and satisfies the exactions of the legal mind. The effect is already apparent and we may confidently anticipate a widespread application of this new precedent as occasion offers in the several states.

Street Trades.—On the other hand, in a number of cities minor officials, truant officers, police and municipal judges, show a disposition to ignore laws regulating street trades, which betrays belief in the tradition that street vending and messenger service are ideal occupations for the little child and that any ordinance interfering with them is an impertinence. An important function of our local committees in the future will be education of the public to the peril of these nomadic pursuits. Official action may be relied on for quick response to such a stimulus.

The same principle applies to agriculture, a form of industry thus far beyond the pale of labor legislation. The farm in many sections of the country is rapidly reproducing evils that have required regulation in the

factory—overwork, overcrowding and the exploitation of little children, not by the family at home, but in groups of scores and hundreds.

Canneries.—A vigorous effort has been made during the year by the factory inspector of New York State to prosecute for employment of very young children in cannery sheds. Defeat has been the result. Cases have been either thrown out of court, or local juries, under the spell of the dominant industry and of the traditional sanctity of the right of the child to work itself to death, have refused to render a verdict. Possibly the time is not opportune for our committee to enter upon a national campaign to regulate child employment in agriculture, but evidently such modern types as truck-gardening, fruit and vegetable canning, tobacco harvesting, etc., merit prompt attention.

III. INVESTIGATION:

Investigation of actual conditions has been more extensive than in any former year. Under the direction of our district secretaries, Lewis W. Hine, staff photographer for "The Survey," has been engaged the greater part of the year in a field study and in making photographs of conditions discovered. These investigations cover study of cotton and other textile industries in the South and in New England, oyster packing and tobacco industries of the Gulf States, vegetable and truck gardening and fruit canning along the Atlantic Coast, and coal mines, glass factories and other general industries in the Middle States. Approximately 800 photographs have been taken, which furnish most valuable evidence upholding the representations made by our field secretaries.

In January we secured an appropriation of \$5,000 to aid in a more thorough study of the southern field than had thus far been possible. The Committee on District Work was at once called together to advise as to the disposition of the funds. It was the judgment of the committee that Dr. McKelway's appeal for assistance in so large a field is reasonable and that greater success could be achieved by a more intimate acquaintance with local conditions. Before appointing a special agent to this task, it was deemed wise that the General Secretary visit the southern states for the purpose of reporting on the possibility of more effective co-operation with educational and other authorities in securing the adoption and enforcement of adequate child labor laws, and to discover by what further methods this committee can awaken public interest and gain the affiliation of the better class of manufacturers in efforts to protect southern children. The result of this study was presented on May 1st. The conclusions reached were:

- (1) That our policy requires a continuance of Dr. McKelway's campaign for general awakening on the subjects of child labor regulation, compulsory education and birth registration.
- (2) That large sections of the states visited are not interested in the factory exploitation of children, but would welcome an aggressive policy for its restriction.

- (3) That the popular assertions that children are greatly improved by removing from their mountain homes into villages are open to question, it being apparent that in many instances their condition is injured rather than improved.
- (4) That the isolation of the mill people from the general population of factory towns tends to develop a distinct class, with all the attendant social dangers.
- (5) That while the factory towns appear to offer relief to people of the sand-lands from the destroying hook-worm, sacrifice of little children to the cotton mill must not be exacted as the price of such relief.
- (6) That many manufacturers are disposed to favor legislative improvement, but hesitate to express themselves publicly at variance with their business associates.
- (7) That the southern field with its present needs requires additional attention from this committee and that Dr. McKelway is justified in his request for assistance. Therefore,
- (8) That the appointment of a suitable special agent should be made at the earliest possible date, to co-operate closely with state and local committees.

As a result of this report, your secretary was authorized to employ such special agent, and on May 31st secured the services of Miss Caroline E. Boone, formerly employed by the United States Bureau of Labor in the investigation of conditions of working women and children. Miss Boone entered upon her duties on August 15th and has established temporary headquarters in Columbia, S. C.

IV. RESEARCH:

Court Rulings.—Reports of government and state officials in departments of labor, factory inspection and education, have been carefully classified and indexed in the office and all available material put in shape for convenient use. Special attention has been given records of court decisions on child labor cases, whether in the nature of constitutional tests, suits for accident damage, or prosecution for violation of law. We expect shortly to have an almost complete file of such judicial decisions.

Handbook Supplement.—The decision of the National Consumers' League not to publish the Handbook for 1909 led us to consider it important that a record of legislative changes be brought up to date. The Membership Secretary was assigned the task of compiling all legislative changes since the publication of the Consumers' League Handbook and up to October 1, 1909. The work has been efficiently done and the supplement will be of practical service for interested people in the various states. (Published as Pamphlet 117.)

Birth Certificates.—Another publication to be mentioned is a pamphlet compiled by George A. Hall, of the New York Child Labor Committee, entitled "How to Obtain Foreign Birth Certificates." The material was secured from Washington, in reply to our letter asking the Department of State to obtain from its foreign consular offices, especially in countries from

which immigrants are arriving, exact information as to procedure in securing certificates of birth. An edition of 3,000 was issued and almost immediately exhausted. Evidently a new edition must be issued in the near future. (Pamphlet 116.)

Government Report.—Events of the past year emphasize more than ever the necessity for adequate official information—both state and national—as a basis for the activities of such organizations as this. The report of the Department of Commerce and Labor on "the conditions of working women and children" has been eagerly awaited. Word was received from the Bureau of Labor on September 22d to the effect that the entire report will probably be completed and published soon after Congress convenes.

The Census.—The preparation for the thirteenth general census offers an opportunity for seeking important revisions in the scope and plan of statistics of the extent and nature of child employment. Former census reports are plainly incomplete as to work of children outside school hours, a form of employment common in agriculture and in all large cities studied in recent years, while the age period divisions fail to furnish the basis needed by those interested in compulsory education and child labor laws. Acting on a suggestion from Mr. Hall, secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association, we called this matter to the attention of the Census Bureau. In response the director has advised us that the schedules will be revised to show occupations in home work and street trades of children who attend school. Also that our suggestion of a new division-of-age period will be made so as to enumerate children seven to thirteen years of age (the prevalent compulsory school period) and children fourteen to fifteen (the period of limited labor regulation).

V. CONFERENCES AND PUBLIC ADDRESSES:

The fifth annual child labor conference was held in Chicago, January 21, 22 and 23, 1909. The proceedings and addresses were published as a Supplement to the March, 1909, issue of *THE ANNALS* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science and were reprinted for general distribution in a volume of 255 pages, entitled, "The Child Workers of the Nation." The vital character of the work in which this committee is engaged is indicated by a remark of Miss Addams to the effect that although she had feared a repetition of national conferences would exhaust the various phases of interesting public discussion, the Chicago meeting had brought out more new material and new suggestions than she had noted from any former meeting. Particular attention was given to the effect of child labor on health and to a study of the extent, nature and regulation of street trades and other unclassified industries. A notable feature of the meeting was the prominence given to manufacturers in defining their relation to this work, and to factory inspection departments in outlining methods of law enforcement.

Southern Conference.—A conference on "Uniform laws for the southern states" was held in New Orleans, March 29th and 30th. This was doubtless the most notable gathering on the subject ever held in the South. Repre-

sentatives, including three state governors, were present from Louisiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and North and South Carolina. Resolutions were adopted calling upon the southern states to enact laws providing for reliable birth registration; a fourteen-year minimum age limit for employment; prohibition of night work; exclusion of children from occupations exposing to physical or moral danger; requiring adequate age certificates; providing for authoritative factory inspection, and approaching as rapidly as possible to an eight-hour work day for all children under sixteen years of age. The conference formed a permanent organization, with Governor Sanders of Louisiana president, and George L. Sehon of Kentucky chairman of the executive committee. The second meeting will probably be held at Memphis during the coming winter.

This southern conference prompts the suggestion that a more rapid approach to uniform state legislation might be secured by promoting similar sectional gatherings in other parts of the country. One session of the forthcoming annual meeting in Boston will be devoted to a discussion of uniform laws for the New England states.

Other Meetings.—The committee has been officially represented at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, the National Education Association, the American Institute of Instruction, the International Convention of Factory Inspectors, the White House Conference on Dependent Children, the Conference on Child Welfare at Clark University, the Institute for Adult Workers with Boys, Harrisburg, Pa., and at various state and local public meetings.

Public Addresses.—A list of the public addresses delivered by the secretaries of the committee would include a record of the legislative hearings referred to in nearly all states mentioned, and of lectures given in cities in at least half the states of the union. The amount of travel required to perform these duties exceeds 50,000 miles.

VI. STATE AND LOCAL COMMITTEES:

Committees have been formed during the year in Kansas, West Virginia, Louisiana, Indiana, North Dakota, Minnesota and Massachusetts. They are in process of formation in Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont.

California has further approached toward state organization by the formation of a local committee in San Francisco to co-operate with the committee formed last year in Los Angeles.

It becomes increasingly apparent that the substantial advance to be made in the regulation of child labor throughout the country and in constructive measures to care adequately for those affected by the law must be through the formation of strong local and state committees. These local forces, however, must be systematically stimulated, directed and co-ordinated, lest their aroused interest end in abortive efforts or even in reaction.

Aside from the general influence and stimulus our strong national organization furnishes, our service to them is rendered by:

- (1) Facts gathered in careful field investigation.

- (2) Expert leadership of our district secretaries.
- (3) Collection and tabulation of literature, both local and foreign.
- (4) Publication and extensive distribution of reports, addresses and essays on child labor.
- (5) Criticism and interpretation of official reports.
- (6) Preparation and display of charts, photographs, etc.
- (7) Drafting bills and advising in legislative campaigns.

The skillful leadership of Dr. McKelway in the southern states, of Mr. Lord in New England, and of Mr. Clopper in the Ohio Valley states fully justifies the plan of district direction. They have faced difficult situations with great courage and ability and merit the confidence and gratitude of this committee and of all interested in its work.

VII. PUBLICITY:

We have entered more largely than formerly upon the development of material for exhibits. An extensive display was made at the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction, Elmira, November 17th-19th; at the New Jersey Conference of Charities and Correction, Trenton, February 18th-20th; at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Buffalo, June 9th-14th; at the Pennsylvania Institute for Adult Workers with Boys, Harrisburg, April 21st-23d, and in connection with our fifth annual meeting in Chicago. Selected material from our stock has been shipped for display at various other gatherings, in charge of responsible persons.

The plan authorized by this board at the beginning of the fiscal year for the development of ten duplicate sets of lantern slides is being carried out and a number of the slides are already in use. The sets are being completed as rapidly as possible.

Traveling Libraries.—The preparation of small duplicate traveling libraries is also nearing completion. It is proposed that these libraries shall contain our bound volumes, a number of selected separate pamphlets and a few outside publications bearing on the subject.

The report of the fifth annual meeting was published as a Supplement to the March number of *THE ANNALS*, reprinted in an edition of 6,250 copies for circulation among our members and in public and college libraries, and the addresses and reports published as separate pamphlets in quantities varying from 500 to 10,000 copies. The total number of pages published for distribution during the year aggregates 3,740,000. We have also issued from the office during the year over 175,000 letters describing the work of the committee, appealing for funds, and soliciting interest in the Federal Children's Bureau.

VIII. CHILD LABOR DAY:

The fourth Sunday of January, 1909, was designated as Child Labor Day and invitations sent to a selected list of 18,000 clergymen requesting them to observe the day with appropriate exercises or addresses. The same request was sent to the religious press. One thousand seven hundred and fifteen

clergymen responded and spoke on the subject, either on that day or at the nearest available date. The cumulative effect of this co-operation has been apparent in awakened interest in many parts of the country, in a more intelligent response to suggestions for improvement of local conditions, and we believe in a more liberal response to financial appeals.

IX. FINANCES:

The annual report of our treasurer shows a considerable financial increase over the fourth fiscal year.

The total debits are:

Fourth fiscal year	\$37,069.47
Fifth fiscal year	50,132.21
Total disbursements:	
Fourth fiscal year	34,147.36
Fifth fiscal year	46,356.72
Leaving a cash balance of	3,575.49 for the fifth fiscal year
as against ...	2,922.09 for the fourth fiscal year

The full account is shown in the following:

TREASURER'S ANNUAL REPORT

As examined, audited and found correct by Haskins & Sells, New York,
Certified Public Accountants

Debits

Balance on hand September 30, 1908	\$2,922.09
Subscription Account	42,726.14
Special Fund, District Work, Ohio Valley States	2,500.00
Special Fund, Investigations in the Southern States	1,250.00
Interest on bank deposits	61.72
Sale of publications	265.80
Miscellaneous receipts	406.46
	<hr/>
	<u>\$50,132.21</u>

Credits.

Rent	\$1,816.00
Investigations	9,910.04
Telephone and telegraph	259.73
Stationery and office supplies	955.54
General expenses	386.59
Salaries, administrative	8,465.39
Salaries, clerks, stenographers, etc.....	5,561.70
Printing	5,205.48
Office furniture and fixtures	287.25
Traveling expenses	3,396.34
Postage	5,337.55

Purchase of child labor material	\$149.45
Special Fund, District Work, Ohio Valley States	2,457.46
Special Fund, Investigations in Southern States	1,203.25
Reserve expenses, fourth fiscal year	154.03
Exhibits	972.03
Special Fund, Compilation Child Labor Material	38.89
	<hr/>
	\$46,556.72
Balance on hand September 30, 1909	3,575.49
	<hr/>
	<u>\$50,132.21</u>

X. MEMBERSHIP:

The foregoing financial record is due to the systematic and persistent efforts of the Membership Secretary, with the co-operation of our finance and membership committees and the District Secretaries. Our records show that 74.8 per cent. of members in the fourth fiscal year have renewed. Despite the loss of 25 per cent. of former members, we have a total increase above the membership of the fourth year of 59 per cent. and a total increase in contributions of 38.5 per cent.

The total enrollment on October 1, 1909, is 4,600.

On October 29, 1908, Mrs. Philip N. Moore, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, was added ex-officio to the membership of the committee.

XI. OFFICIAL MEETINGS:

The meetings of the trustees during the year have been directed by the chairman pro tempore, Mr. Seligman, in the absence of Dr. Adler. Four meetings of the Board of Trustees were held; and two meetings of the Finance Committee, three meetings of the Committee on District Work, and two meetings of the Program Committee.

XII. SPECIAL WORKERS:

Mr. Hine has been engaged temporarily as photographer for the committee and has spent through the year an aggregate of thirty-two weeks in our service. His photographic work has been of great value in furnishing visual testimony in corroboration of the evidence gathered in field investigation. Mr. Hine reserves the right to sell any photographs for publication with the understanding that the publisher's copyright does not affect our prior claim.

The Messenger Service.—An important part of Mr. Hine's investigation has been study of the night messenger service. Enough has been done to convince the Committee on District Work that a careful study should be made of this phase of child labor during the coming months with a view to securing adequate legislation in several states this winter. On September 24th Edward M. Barrows was engaged on a temporary basis to assist in the investigation of this subject, and will enter upon his work about October 16th.

This report would be incomplete without a hearty acknowledgment of the prompt and generous responses you have made to the demands of the work, whether as a board or in the duties of the various committees. The perfect harmony in which all members of our staff and office forces have labored is an added cause for gratitude.

Respectfully submitted,
OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary.

The Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference on Child Labor Under the Auspices of the National Child Labor Committee

Boston, Mass., January 13, 14, 15, 16, 1910.

The first annual conference of this committee was held in New York City, February 14 to 16, 1905. The second was held in Washington, December 8 to 10, 1905, with supplementary sessions in Philadelphia and Chicago. The third was held in Cincinnati, December 13 to 15, 1906, the fourth in Atlanta, Ga., April 2 to 5, 1908, and the fifth in Chicago, January 21 to 23, 1909.

At the sixth annual conference held in Boston, January 13 to 16, the following program was carried out:

I. Thursday Afternoon, January 13th, 2.30 o'clock.

GENERAL TOPIC: CHILD-EMPLOYING INDUSTRIES.

Chairman, Dr. A. J. McKelway, Atlanta, Ga., Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee.

Address, "Children in the Textile Industry," John Golden, Fall River, Mass., President United Textile Workers of America.

Discussion.

Subtopics for general discussion:

1. Present condition and outlook of the industry. (Cotton, woolen, silk, knitting, etc.)
 2. Children employed. Character of work, hours of labor, wages.
 3. Possibility of employing older persons for so-called children's work.
 4. Labor-saving devices as a substitute for children.
 5. Effect of child labor on family income.
 6. Effects of employment, physical decline, illiteracy, etc. ●
 7. Accidents.
 8. Why conditions in modern factories are more taxing than those of a generation ago.
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II. Thursday Evening, January 13th, 8 o'clock.

Dr. Felix Adler, Chairman National Child Labor Committee, presiding.

Hon. Grafton D. Cushing, Chairman Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, opened the meeting with an Address of Welcome.

PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST
CHILD LABOR.

1. Annual Address by Dr. Felix Adler, New York.
 2. "The Cotton Mill a Factor in the Development of the South," Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, New York, Chairman Welfare Committee, National Civic Federation.
 3. "The Federal Children's Bureau," Owen R. Lovejoy, New York, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.
 4. "Children Who Work in Textiles" (stereopticon), Dr. A. J. McKelway. Reception by the Civic Conference Committee in the Liberal Arts Building.
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III. Friday Morning, January 14th, 9.30 o'clock.

CONFERENCE OF STATE COMMITTEES.

Chairman, Owen R. Lovejoy, New York, General Secretary.

1. Reports of State and Local Committees.
2. Address, "Relation of the National Child Labor Committee to State and Local Committees."

Discussion led by Edward W. Frost, Milwaukee, Chairman, Wisconsin Child Labor Committee.

Suggested topics for general discussion:

- a. The special field of work of the National Child Labor.
 - b. An outline for financial affiliation.
 - c. Responsibility in sections of the country where strong local support cannot be obtained.
 - d. Special lines of work for state and local committees.
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IV. Friday Morning, January 14th, 10.30 o'clock.

VOCATIONAL DIRECTION.

Chairman, Everett W. Lord, Boston, Secretary for New England.

Address by Dr. David Snedden, Commissioner of Education, Massachusetts.

Discussion led by Robert A. Woods, South End House, Boston.

Subtopics for discussion:

1. Demand for vocational education.
2. Importance of choice of career.
3. Usual determining factors in choice of career.
4. Natural vocational advisers and their limitations.
5. Agencies designed to aid natural advisers.

V. Friday Noon, January 14th, 2.30 o'clock.

MASS MEETING AT FANEUIL HALL.

Dr. Felix Adler, Presiding.

Child Labor Poem by Denis A. McCarthy, Boston.

Addresses by Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary, National Consumers' League; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Free Synagogue, New York.

VI. Friday Afternoon, January 14, 2.30 o'clock.

SECTION MEETINGS.

Section I.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LAWS.

Chairman, Homer Folks, Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York.

Discussion led by Hon. E. J. Watson, Commissioner, Agriculture, Commerce and Industries, South Carolina, and Hon. H. C. Morrison, State Superintendent of Instruction, New Hampshire.

Discussion. New England factory inspectors, school officials, and health boards, especially invited to join in general discussion.

Section II.

STATISTICS.

Chairman, Fred. S. Hall, Philadelphia, Secretary, Pennsylvania Child-Labor Association.

Addresses:

1. "Value of Accurate Statistical Knowledge," Fred S. Hall.
2. "Necessity for Complete Vital Statistics," John Koren, Boston, Special Agent, United States Census Bureau.
3. "One State's Statistical Equipment," Hon. Charles F. Gettemy, Director, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics.
4. "Proof of Age Records," Grace F. Ward, Boston, and Jeanie V. Minor, Special Agent, New York Child Labor Committee.
5. "The Providence School Census System," Gilbert E. Whittemore, Chief Attendance Officer, Providence.

VII. Friday Evening, January 14th, 8 o'clock.

FORCES ANTAGONISTIC TO CHILD LABOR REFORM.

Chairman, Samuel McCune Lindsay, Columbia University.

1. "False Economic Ideas," Charles F. Smith, New Britain, Conn., President, Landers, Frary & Clark.
2. "Unequal Laws," Prof. Samuel McCune Lindsay, New York, Director New York School of Philanthropy.
3. "Demand for Cheap Labor," Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York, General Secretary National Consumers' League.

4. "Indifference of Church and Moral Forces," Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York, Pastor Church of the Messiah.
5. "Inadequate Schools," Everett W. Lord.

VIII. Saturday Morning, January 15th, 9.30 o'clock.

Section I.

DRAFTING CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION.

Chairman, Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay.

1. Address by Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr., Ex-Governor of Massachusetts. Discussion led by Hollis R. Bailey, Boston, Chairman Committee on Uniform Laws.
2. Address, "Physical Tests For Working Children," Dr. William C. Hanson, Boston, State Board of Health.
Subtopics for general discussion:
 1. Drafting state laws and local ordinances.
 2. Comparison of state laws and advantage of uniformity within similar industrial areas.
 3. Value of—age, physical, educational—tests of fitness to work.
 4. The legislative campaign.

Section II.

CHILD LABOR IN HOME INDUSTRIES AND STREET TRADES.

Chairman, Edward N. Clopper, Cincinnati, Secretary for the Ohio Valley States.

Address, "Effect of Tenement Child Labor on Education, Health, Morals and Family Income," Miss Mary Van Kleeck, New York, Secretary, Committee on Women's Work.

Discussion led by Mrs. Florence Kelley.

Suggested outline for general discussion:

1. Enactment of laws to regulate such employment.
2. Extent of child labor in street trades.
3. Statistics of wages in street trades.
4. The night messenger.
5. Morning and evening employment of school children, *e. g.*, street lamp lighters, scavengers, newsboys, errand boys, milk route boys, etc.

IX. Saturday Morning, January 15th, 11 o'clock.

GENERAL SESSION.

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES, TRUCK GARDENING, TOBACCO AND BEET-SUGAR FIELDS.

Chairman, Edward N. Clopper.

Discussion led by Miss Pauline Goldmark, New York, Supervisor, Research Work, New York School of Philanthropy.

Suggested topics for general discussion :

1. Fruit and vegetable canning and sea-foods.
2. Manufacture of tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, etc.
3. Housing and sanitary conditions.
4. Educational opportunities of children in rural communities.
5. Physical conditions.

X. Sunday, January 16th.

CHILD LABOR AND THE CHURCH.

Child labor was the topic of sermons and addresses in the following churches.

First Baptist Church, Commonwealth Avenue. Owen R. Lovejoy.

First Universalist Church, Roxbury. Dr. A. J. McKelway.

St. John's Church, Upham's Corner. E. N. Clopper.

Winthrop Street M. E. Church, Roxbury. Everett W. Lord.

St. Paul Universalist Church, Jamaica Plain. Fred S. Hall.

Center Street Baptist Church, Jamaica Plain. Richard K. Conant.

Trinity Church, Boston. Owen R. Lovejoy.

Warren Avenue Baptist Church, Boston. Dr. A. J. McKelway.

St. Peter's Church, Jamaica Plain. E. N. Clopper.

Hope Chapel, Shawmut Avenue. Everett W. Lord.

Grace Church, South Boston. Prof. Charles F. Bradley.

In the following churches the child labor services were conducted by the pastor :

Church of the Holy Spirit, Mattapan.

Church of the Ascension, Boston.

Maverick Congregational Church, East Boston.

Eliot Congregational Church, Roxbury.

Tremont Street M. E. Church, Boston.

Church of Our Father, East Boston.

Boylston Congregational Church, Jamaica Plain.

Channing Unitarian Church, Dorchester.

St. John's Church, East Boston.

St. Stephen's Church, Boston.

First Parish Church, West Roxbury.

St. Mary's Church, Dorchester.

FIRST SESSION.

At the first session addresses were delivered by Dr. A. J. McKelway,* Secretary for the Southern States, and by John Golden,* President United Textile Workers of America.

The general topic of the session, "Children in the Textile Industry," was then thrown open for discussion.

* All papers and addresses marked * appear in full elsewhere in this volume.

The chairman referred to the pioneer work conducted by organized labor against child labor in America, and called attention to the varying interests, religious, political, economic, represented in the National Child Labor Committee. The discussion was directed to the following topics: "Present Condition and Outlook of the Textile Industry," "Character of Children's Work," "Hours of Labor," "Wages," "Possibility of Substituting Older Persons or Labor-saving Devices," "Effect of Child Labor on Family Income," "Accidents," etc.

Among those who participated in the discussion were the Rev. Mr. Fuller, of Boston; Fred S. Hall, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association; E. W. Krackowizer, of New York.

Mr. Hall referred to the development of various textile industries in Pennsylvania, and to a conversation recently overheard, in which a country lawyer proposed to establish a hosiery mill, admitting that he knew nothing about the business, but saying "any one can go into the hosiery business and make a good thing out of it."

Mr. Hall said: "Why is it easy for a man without any experience to go into the hosiery business and in spite of his blunders make easy money out of it. Twenty out of every hundred workers in the hosiery mills of Pennsylvania are fifteen years of age, or fourteen, or twelve, or eleven, or some age under it. Across the line, in New York, where our competitors work, three out of every hundred are under sixteen. Is it any wonder that blunderers think they can put up hosiery mills in our state and make them succeed?"

"Industrial migrations are not unknown, and we can usually trace the cause when we see glass factories torn down and moved into another town; then torn down and moved still to another state. The reason is not hard to find. They almost wholly depend upon cheap fuel, and natural gas is their fuel. When this fuel is used up they move to another place, but in the migration of the silk industry from Paterson, N. J., we find no such explanation. What do we find? For years it has been demonstrated in Pennsylvania that children from eight years upward may be employed. In the coal regions their chief employment was in the coal breakers. There girl children were going to waste from the standpoint of possible employees. That fact was discovered about ten or fifteen years ago, and the silk industry has been increasing by leaps and bounds in the northern part of our state.

"We report progress, however. The recent law passed in Pennsylvania will, we believe, amount almost to a revolution. Schools are opening new classes, coal breakers are closing for lack of boys. Boys sixteen years of age are being employed at thirty-six cents a day advance over what their young predecessors received. The same thing is going on in the silk mills.

"But the textile manufacturers are not all as a class opposed to these higher standards. We in Pennsylvania have found it essential and practicable to win these men. We passed the new child labor law, which we hope will make fourteen the real age in our state, through co-operation with one of these manufacturers' associations. Without their advocacy we would have failed. We ought to work with this better element who are dragged down in competition by the lower element among manufacturers."

Mr. Lovejoy referred to the fact that while organized labor in general promotes the campaign against child employment, it has been found on several occasions in New Jersey and other states that representatives of the Glass Blowers' Union have co-operated with the manufacturers in defeating legislation which sought to prevent the employment of young children at night. He expressed the hope that representatives of organized labor present would make it manifest that they disapprove of such treason against the working child by representatives of the working men.

Mr. Krackowizer said the child labor question is the question of the family. The mission of the school is to unite the family, and wherever we touch this question, whether our sympathies are aroused for the down-trodden woman, or for men who cannot make living wages, it is the family that is being ruined and corrupted. "There are many mothers here, and to the extent that your husbands are able to earn full wages, I urge that you use not only your sympathies, but all your skill and influence to aid the family through the child."

Dr. McKelway said: "Undoubtedly child labor means cheap labor. Where the child is brought into competition with the family, the wage is brought down to the child's standard, so that it takes the wages of the whole family for the family to live upon. The abolition of child labor would mean a living wage for the older members of the family."

SECOND SESSION.

At the second session Hon. Grafton D. Cushing, of Boston, opened the meeting with an address of welcome and called upon the chairman of the National Child Labor Committee to preside. Mr. Cushing said:

"It is a pleasant duty to welcome to Boston, on behalf of the Massachusetts State Child Labor Committee, the annual conference on child labor, and to wish the participants in the convention a full measure of instruction and of new enthusiasm for their work. In this age of specialization it is to be expected that so important a subject as the protection of children from premature labor should be deemed worthy an organization of its own, and it speaks well for the general interest in the subject that so many of you should have come from different parts of the Union to give to us the fruits of your experience.

"Conferences of this sort are invaluable in the exchange of ideas and in the general stimulation of interest which must come from a thorough discussion of any subject; and one feels almost sure to-day that a full discussion, when made known through proper channels of publicity, will bear satisfactory results. Once thoroughly interest the American people, and its verdict will be right. It is our function to awaken that interest and to direct it along practical lines. Agitation is the precursor of action. We must first agitate and then act, making sure that our course is dictated by reason and not by sentiment. The cause that we represent here to-day is so closely entwined with the problem of the proper education and proper care of the youth of the country that it becomes of utmost importance to

awaken the community to a sense of the dangers inherent in the employment of children. It is somewhat of a shock to Massachusetts people to find that, far from being in the lead in child labor legislation, we are behind many other states. We have sat complacently congratulating ourselves on our standards, and younger and more progressive states have passed us by.

"It is, therefore, time to act. Various associations have interested themselves in various phases of child labor before now; but until now there has been in this state no organized effort devoted specifically to child labor problems. With the formation of a State Child Labor Committee, affiliated with the National Child Labor Committee, we may expect to carry on a campaign which shall bring to every inhabitant of the state a knowledge of conditions as they are and the remedies we propose to apply. It is desirable that this Massachusetts movement should be part of an aggressive New England movement, not only because it is well to extend the work as far as possible, but also because it is better that restrictive legislation, which may put the manufacturers of one state at a disadvantage with competitors in other states, should be adopted by a number of competing states. We have no intention to injure industries or employers of labor in Massachusetts, and whatever changes in the hours of employment of children are made, time should be given to the employers to adapt their business to the new conditions. It must, however, be remembered that whenever legislation of the sort we shall recommend has been suggested in Massachusetts, the cry has invariably been raised that Massachusetts industries would suffer, and yet, although our laws are stricter than many competing states, Massachusetts mills are prosperous and never more so than at the present time. The broad-visioned, far-sighted policy for Massachusetts—the policy that means eventually the fullest strength and vigor in the nation—is to require that no children shall be allowed to work in conditions detrimental to their health or development, if such conditions are preventable."

The annual address was delivered by the chairman, Dr. Felix Adler.*

Addresses were also given by Mrs. J. Borden Harriman,* New York, chairman, Welfare Committee, National Civic Federation, on "The Cotton Mill a Factor in the Development of the South"; Owen R. Lovejoy,* on "The Federal Children's Bureau," and the meeting closed with a stereopticon address on "The Mill or the Farm?" by Dr. A. J. McKelway.*

THIRD SESSION.

At the third session, on "Relation of the National Child Labor Committee to State and Local Committees," a summary of reports from committees, presented elsewhere in this volume, was given by the chairman of the session, Mr. Lovejoy. The special topics for discussion were the following:

- (a) The special field of work of the National Child Labor Committee.
- (b) An outline for financial affiliation.

(c) Responsibility in sections of the country where strong local support cannot be obtained.

(d) Special lines of work for state and local committees.

The discussion was opened with an address by Edward W. Frost,* Milwaukee, chairman, Wisconsin Child Labor Committee.

The subject was discussed by Mrs. Carl Barus, Providence, chairman of the Joint Committee on Child Welfare in Rhode Island; Richard K. Conant, Boston, secretary of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee; Miss Jean M. Gordon, New Orleans, factory inspector, Louisiana; Mrs. G. W. B. Cushing, East Orange, chairman, New Jersey Child Labor Committee; Fred S. Hall, Philadelphia, secretary, Pennsylvania Child Labor Association; Mrs. Ella Jordan Mason, Biddeford, secretary, Maine Child Labor Committee, and others.

In closing the discussion, the chairman of the meeting summarized the chief forms of service the National Committee can render state and local forces by:

- (1) Facts gathered in careful field investigation.
- (2) Expert leadership of our district secretaries.
- (3) Collection and tabulation of literature, both local and foreign.
- (4) Publication and extensive distribution of reports, addresses and essays on child labor.
- (5) Criticism and interpretation of official reports.
- (6) Preparation and display of charts, photographs, etc.
- (7) Drafting bills and advising in legislative campaigns.

FOURTH SESSION.

The fourth session was devoted to vocational direction, Everett W. Lord, Boston, secretary for New England, chairman. Addresses were delivered by the chairman and by Dr. David Snedden, Boston, commissioner of education, Massachusetts. These addresses appear, together with the ensuing discussion, in a symposium entitled "Vocational Suggestion."

FIFTH SESSION.

The fifth session was a mass meeting at Faneuil Hall, at which Dr. Felix Adler presided. Addresses were delivered by Mrs. Florence Kelley,* New York, general secretary, National Consumers' League; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise,* Free Synagogue, New York; Hon. Hooper Alexander,* Atlanta, Ga., and an original poem was read by Denis A. McCarthy, Boston.

SIXTH SESSION.

Section I. was devoted to "The Enforcement of Child Labor Laws," Homer Folks, New York, secretary, State Charities Aid Association, pre-

siding. Addresses were delivered by Mr. Folks,* Hon. E. J. Watson,* Columbia, S. C., commissioner agriculture, commerce and industries, and Hon. Henry C. Morrison,* state superintendent of instruction, New Hampshire.

A general discussion followed, in which Mrs. Kelley, Dr. McKelway, Miss Gordon, Mr. Lord and Miss Putnam participated.

In response to Mr. Watson's claim that South Carolina has gone farther than other states in development of the factory inspection department, Dr. McKelway said, "I am hardly able to see the distinction. They have a mine inspector and a factory inspector in Tennessee and in Connecticut; they have a very complete factory inspection department in New Hampshire; they have factory inspection in New Orleans also. Virginia has a department of factory inspection under the Commission of Labor, which seems to me exactly parallel to the situation in South Carolina. So I hardly know what the commissioner meant when he spoke about that being the first state to adopt a complete system."

MR. WATSON: I simply meant that we have made it a full state department. We have gone farther into the ramifications of factory inspection than any other state.

DR. MCKELWAY: The great need in the South to-day is to get the fourteen-year-age limit. I do not see why South Carolina cannot be as humane toward her native white children as is Massachusetts. Two things are to be done: First, raise the age limit to fourteen in the five or six southern states that still have the twelve-year-age limit; second, have complete factory inspection.

MISS JEAN M. GORDON, factory inspector, New Orleans: I have found in my work that other questions are as serious as that of the child in the cotton mill. I think we ought to have a discussion of the child in the theater.

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject is "The Enforcement of the Child Labor Law" in every department of child labor.

MISS GORDON: I think a division of child labor which the national association has overlooked is that of children on the stage, and from my experience of the past few years I consider it very much more baneful in its effects and influence upon the child than the mill or the factory, for the temptations are much greater. In the beginning, the wages are much larger, and if the girls have the slightest physical attraction they can easily obtain from \$10 to \$18 a week. When this physical attraction passes, which is very soon, and they can no longer be employed to kick and sing, then comes the test of character, for few are willing to go into the monotonous humdrum life of the factory with its long hours and poor pay, and having once tasted the gayety of late suppers and dances, they take naturally to the broad path which leads down, ever down.

In New Orleans the Supreme Court has just upheld my contention as factory inspector, that the child labor law applied to children appearing in any capacity on the stage. I suppose an effort will be made to amend the present law so as not to apply to children in so-called first-class theaters, but I think we have sufficient evidence to prove that such "so-

called" first-class plays as "Sapho" and "Salvation Nell" are not very healthful atmospheres in which to raise young, impressionable children.

We have paid more attention to the children in cotton mills because there we see them in large numbers and are impressed with the effects upon them; whereas, the children on the stage only appear one or two in each play, generally well dressed and painted, which would hide any bad effects of the life. But we must remember that comparatively few states have cotton mills and comparatively few towns in each state send their children into the mill; but every town, in every one of our forty-five states, has a vaudeville or theater of some class, and when we think of all these children all over the Union who are dancing and singing and kicking every afternoon and night, it is soon borne in upon us that the question of children upon the stage is as great, if not a greater, question than children in the cotton mills.

MR. LORD: Last winter there was an attempt by theatrical managers in Boston to get an exemption of the law which prohibits work of any kind after 7 o'clock in the evening by children under fourteen. A charge had been brought against one manager in the local court. The manager appealed, and the decision of the Supreme Court handed down last week was based on the question whether this is work. The manager said it was not. The court decided it was. That established the present law, but we are seeking now an amendment to prohibit employment of children between fourteen and sixteen on the stage in the evening.

MISS GORDON: That was the contention of the New Orleans managers, that the law did not apply to them, that the word "work" applied only to the scene painters, scene shifters, etc. Our law is more stringent than yours, because it prohibits employment of girls at night under eighteen, and of boys in the telegraph offices under sixteen. I like to tell this in favor of the manager of the Western Union Telegraph office in New Orleans. He came to thank the factory inspector for having raised the age limit at which night work can be done by boys, declaring that he is getting better service.

MR. LORD: I am working out a pamphlet which will give information regarding employment of children in theaters. The only information secured last year was derived from a joint report as to the law in different states. One general statement was that all great actors began as children. I find that to be absolutely false.

MRS. KELLEY: I regret that Mr. Morrison is not here, and wonder if any one else from New Hampshire can tell us of the conditions where the protection of children is left to educational authorities as to working hours and work at night. Do the educational authorities confine themselves to enforcing provisions that have to do with school only? Outside school hours; that is to say, at the age of twelve years, children may go into cotton mills in summer and go back into schools when they begin. I do not quite see how the school authorities could help them.

MR. LORD: The educational provision of the New Hampshire law is, I believe, the best we have in New England, because it is enforced from the

state office, and depends but little in its administration on local officers. The tests are fixed by the state superintendent of schools, and local officials are obliged to use those tests in examining children to see whether they are up to the required standard. The result is that while in New Hampshire the standard is not so high as it is here in Massachusetts, nor as in Connecticut, the effect is much better. It is enforced very much better throughout the state.

Section II. was devoted to "Statistics," Fred S. Hall, Philadelphia, secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association, presiding. The following addresses were delivered:

- (1) "Value of Accurate Statistical Knowledge," Fred S. Hall.*
- (2) "Necessity for Complete Vital Statistics," John Koren, Boston, special agent, United States Census Bureau.
- (3) "One State's Statistical Equipment," Frank S. Drown,* director, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics.
- (4) "Proof-of-age Records," Grace F. Ward, Boston, and Jeanie V. Minor,* special agent, New York Child Labor Committee.
- (5) "The Providence School Census System," Gilbert E. Whittemore,* chief attendance officer, Providence.

These papers were briefly discussed by Mr. Hall, Mrs. Elmer J. Bissell, of Rochester; C. V. Hartzell, Harrisburg, Department of Factory Inspection, Pennsylvania, and others.

Mr. Hall referred to a recent visit to Scranton, Pa., and said, "Visiting the Health Office, I inquired if the law requiring birth certificates to be recorded was enforced in that city. The man in charge pointed to the statistics, showing in one month two hundred births recorded; in the following month approximately seven hundred births recorded. The reason was not far to seek. He said the Department of Health had employed some detectives and, as a result of what they discovered, a score or more midwives and several physicians were haled before a justice and fined for having failed to record the birth of children."

MR. HARTZELL: In respect to enforcement of the child labor law in Pennsylvania, so far as it relates to issuance of certificates, I recall an argument, and a strong one, too, against the old method of issuing an employment affidavit attested to by a justice of the peace or others. In putting that duty upon the school officials, the argument against the old method was that with a payment of a 25-cent fee he would not be very careful whether he attested the facts officially. Now, it will surprise you to find that school officials under the present law, who are entitled to no fee for the issuing of certificates, are perhaps just as careless. When I left my office the other day instructions were issued to one of our deputies to prosecute the superintendent of public schools of one of our Pennsylvania cities. It is characterizing it in a very mild way to say his methods are lax in carrying out the Pennsylvania laws in respect to issuing employment certificates. In a word, I may tell you he signed a lot of these blank cer-

tificates and gave them to the employers of labor to hand out, regardless of whether the child was under or over fourteen years of age, regardless of whether the child could read or write. It looks as though we had among our educators some who are careless and indifferent to the welfare of children. I am sorry to bring in this story of laxity, but am very glad to assure you we have vigorously prosecuted an alderman, and even one mayor of Pennsylvania for illegal practices.

SEVENTH SESSION.

At the seventh session, devoted to the subject, "Forces Antagonistic to Child Labor Reform," Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay presided in the absence of President Emeritus Charles W. Eliot. The following addresses were delivered:

"False Economic Ideas," Charles F. Smith,* New Britain, Conn., president, Landers, Frary & Clark.

"Unequal Laws," Prof. Samuel McCune Lindsay.*

"Indifference of Church and Moral Forces," Rev. John Haynes Holmes,* Church of the Messiah, New York.

"The Demand for Cheap Labor," Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York, general secretary, National Consumers' League.

"Inadequate Schools," Everett W. Lord.*

The chairman then extended a word of welcome to the delegates of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, and read the following resolutions:

"To the National Child Labor Committee now in convention assembled:

"WHEREAS, The Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, now assembled in convention in the city of Boston, are in accord with the work being carried out by the National Child Labor Committee;

"Resolved, That an expression of goodwill be extended, and the hope expressed that your efforts in this convention to ameliorate the present conditions will prove of the greatest success. And be it further

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to attend the convention assembled.

"The following were delegated as a committee: Alf. G. Geeves, seventh vice-president, Bricklayers and Masons' International Union; C. H. Ruth, city of Oklahoma; J. McCaig, Pittsburg, Pa.; Hugh Blair, Cleveland, Ohio; M. R. Grady, Chicago, Ill.; J. McGregor, Indianapolis, Ind."

Mr. Ruth was invited to address the meeting, and spoke, in part, as follows:

"I consider myself particularly fortunate in coming to Boston at a time when a convention such as this is in progress. I extend the greetings of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, with which I have had the pleasure to be connected for the last twenty-six years. This organization is composed of upward of one hundred thousand men, all able-bodied, and I am proud to say that the trade I follow is of a character that

will not permit a child to work. If we cannot get legislation such as we need, would to God every profession was so that no weak woman or child could work at it, and the strong men had to go out and do the work. Then the problem would be solved.

"I am particularly interested in child labor legislation, for the reason that since I was eleven years of age I had to wield a trowel and lay brick and stone, and never had an opportunity to see the inside of a schoolroom except when I was building it. I, like other children, loved to play ball and marbles, but those days we worked ten and twelve hours a day, or we worked from see to see. That is, from when you could see in the morning till when you couldn't see at night.

"We have connected with our organization one thousand one hundred and thirty-three unions, embracing every state in the United States and every province in Canada. When we learned you were meeting here, a resolution was presented to our organization, and passed unanimously, and I say to you as a man who has worked with his trowel from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, meeting thousands and thousands of my fellow-workmen, that if the child labor problem were put up to the bricklayers and masons of the United States to-day, and the result depended upon their votes, it would be settled to-night, for their voice would go out as unanimously as in that convention to-day.

"I come to you from Oklahoma, and you will remember that in a recent address the President advised the people of Arizona, if they were admitted to statehood in this Union, they should not follow the precedent established by the State of Oklahoma in adopting its constitution.

"One of the sections of our law says that no child under sixteen shall be employed underground. Another, that no girl under the age of sixteen years shall in any city sell, expose or offer for sale newspapers, magazines or periodicals in any street or out-of-door place. Another, that any man who employs a female in his establishment must provide her with a place to sit down when she is not actively engaged in work, or if the work is of a character that will permit her being seated. We elected a commissioner of labor, who was a laboring man. He had a card in his pocket, and he appointed in his office every man he needed that had a union card in his pocket, and these men went forth and enforced these laws.

"We have the best code of laws in the United States or in the world. Probably not as well written, probably the phraseology is not such as the people of Massachusetts would use, because bricklayers have very little time to study grammar. We are studying humanity down in that great prairie country. We are not protecting the infant industries; but we are protecting those other infants that you can dandle on your knee, and we will take our chances with that kind of an infant.

"We have not the sea coast you people East have, but I have read your laws. I know that every state on the sea coast has passed a law protecting an oyster an inch and three-quarters long. If you go out on the sea coast to-day and capture an oyster an inch and three-quarters long, you have to throw it overboard, and you know it. Another one of your laws

is that you cannot take baby lobsters. They must be a certain size before you can take a baby lobster. Why do not they protect the children as they do the lobster?

"I have copies of laws here in my pocket, every one of which was passed for the benefit of the workingman, the workingwoman and for the protection of the children. In the organization I represent there is not a man that works for less than \$4 a day, eight hours a day, and it would be a disgrace and he would be socially ostracized if he permitted his wife or one of his children to go into a mill or factory and help support his family. We have fought for these wages to help protect our families. People who have come to Oklahoma and returned East, when they were departing, have said to me, 'I am going back to God's country,' meaning the East, and perhaps Massachusetts. After looking over your labor laws, and the manner in which they are enforced, I want to say if this is God's country, I prefer the boundless prairies of Oklahoma, where it is man's country, woman's country and children's country."

EIGHTH SESSION.

Section I. was devoted to the subject, "Drafting Child Labor Legislation," Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, chairman. An address was delivered by Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr.,* ex-Governor of Massachusetts. Discussion of Governor Guild's paper was led by Hollis R. Bailey, Esq., Boston, chairman of the Committee on Uniform Child Labor Laws of the Commission on Uniform State Laws of the American Bar Association.

Mr. Bailey referred to the work of the commissioners on uniform state laws, and of the steps leading to the appointment of the special committee to refer to the next conference a draft for uniform state laws. He said the commission looked to the National Child Labor Committee, "which is educating the public, forming public opinion and doing something toward national legislation," for guidance in the development of a practical plan to be submitted. "It would be quite out of the question to think that the National Council of Commissioners can get very far toward final results without the support of such a body as this. The conference commissioners may be likened to the contractor who puts up a building after the architect has designed it. They may be likened to the workman who carries out the idea of the sculptor and does the actual chiseling. The conference commissioners have a certain technical skill in regard to the formation of an act of the legislature, and if told what properly should go into a child labor law, they can get it into shape so that it may be efficient when enacted.

"This coming week we are to be in Washington and have a meeting on Monday in conference with the National Child Labor Committee, the purpose being to receive suggestions and information as to what should be included in a uniform child labor law. In this way we hope to make more effective the work the National Child Labor Committee has been doing. I do not need any argument to convince me that a shorter workday

for children is practicable. If you say to a considerable number of people that a boy between the ages of fourteen and sixteen ought not to be allowed to work at all, it does not appeal to them. But if you say they should not be allowed to work more than half-time, or six or seven or eight hours, that does appeal to them, and is something which can be carried out. If you explain to members of the legislature that protection of children means protection of posterity, they do not need much argument to appreciate it. It does seem to me that if we work diligently, and you give us all the information we need, a year from next August the conference will be in position to recommend for adoption throughout the country a uniform child labor law, and if we get a good law, one that seems likely to produce good results, we shall give considerable aid in the solution of this difficult question. I heartily agree with Governor Guild that Massachusetts, in order to keep abreast of the times, must be active, and I hope you will heartily support this committee that we may be able to do all you expect of us."

Dr. William C. Hanson,* of the Massachusetts State Board of Health, presented a paper on "The Health of Young Persons in Massachusetts Factories," which was read by title.

The chairman next called upon Dr. Thomas Morgan Rotch, of Harvard, who presented his well-known views on the importance of physiological tests of the fitness of children for various kinds of employment. Dr. Rotch related the extremely interesting work carried on under his direction in distinguishing the development of children by means of the Roentgen ray and expressed fear that the advocates of child labor legislation would make a mistake in working exclusively for the adoption of a uniform law in the various states based upon chronological age. Dr. Rotch said:

"The schools are just as wrong in their present grading from a physician's point of view as the mills are. The gentleman who spoke said that the school teachers can tell you better about the age of children than can the lawyers. The school teachers here in Boston, the Massachusetts teachers, have appealed to me on that subject over and over again. They often do not know how old the children are. Judges in the Juvenile Court in Chicago have spoken to me about this matter of determining the age of children, and they say that the false birth certificates are so numerous, and the parents so untruthful, that determination of age is frequently impossible. They say we need expert research work in the development of children, and in determining whether each child is ready to do certain work. There is no question but that so far as this research work has been carried on, it goes to show that our whole system of treating children physically is wrong. It is disgraceful the way the children of our country are treated.

"Most of the teachers in the schools will tell you that they do not know positively how old the children are. Now, it is a fact that it does not make any difference how old the children are. It does not make any difference whether the child is thirteen, fourteen or fifteen years old in regard to the work he is able to do.

"In the research work which I have done I find that the mind should

be in equilibrium with the body, and that children who are highly developed often have such a degree of knowledge that there is no reason why they should not begin their work, if they are physically ready to do such work. If they are ready to do that work, they should be allowed to do it. This is simply research work, carried on not only with children in the kindergarten, in the elementary schools, in the high schools, and in the technical schools in Pittsburg, where the instructors, teachers and educators believe in it, but also in the United States Naval School.

"This question of age must eventually be put aside. Should you not, therefore, be careful about making an age limit? The chronologic age law does not cover what we are all seeking after, but a developmental law would.

"We must be very careful not to antagonize South Carolina and the southern states if we wish to ever have a national law. You must adapt the vocation to the child, and not say a child can do certain things because it is a certain age, for it may be the very worst thing in the world for a child of sixteen to go into the mills. It may be the worst thing to take them out of the mills, as they did in New York, and put them into school houses. It is only men who devote their lives to the study of disease and development who can give advice on those subjects. Those physicians who are experts in the development and hygiene of children should be asked to give an opinion on these subjects. The general physician knows very little more about it than the lawyers do. There are special men studying the development of children who will be able to tell you in the future what these children are able to do, and what vocations they are fitted for.

"I have been among the public school teachers here who are doing an immense work among the school children. The teachers are in the midst of it, and it is extraordinary what is being done in our schools in Boston. We have had a short time to study this problem, but there is no question but that the Roentgen method is the best to determine whether a child is able to work in a mill or to go into a certain grade in school. The Roentgen ray will tell you whether a child has the physical or mental development which should meet certain conditions. Certain conditions in the mills need a certain amount of development, a certain amount of resisting power, whether the child obtains this from inheritance, education or surroundings, and the child should not be allowed to do this work unless he has been shown to have this degree of development. We are now beginning to guard all young human beings from birth up to twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, when development is really finished. I am showing when the child or the young man is ready to go into the university or the naval academy. We are able to do this and the teachers are saying they have found no flaw in the method so far."

GOVERNOR GUILD: I have asked Dr. Rotch what we should do toward the present restriction of child labor. In response he tells us what we should not do. Is it your opinion, Dr. Rotch, that at present we should do nothing?

DR. ROTCH: Is it hurting the cause to get at the cause of the evil, to

get at the truth? The question is not as to the value of this immense work the National Child Labor Committee has done, for it is self-evident. The idea is that a Roentgen ray machine could be placed in a center where children could be taken. The public school children will be sent there. The mill men say they are perfectly willing to have tests of that kind made. It does absolutely no harm and takes only a few seconds. Instead of having a long examination of parents, it can be told this way in thirty seconds. There is no question among any physicians or experts who have ever made an investigation that this developmental study is the best method as yet. You are making laws on a wrong basis.

MR. LOVEJOY: Dr. Rotch's suggestion is, I understand, substantially the one presented before our fifth annual meeting in Chicago, January 22, 1909. It is a plea for measuring the fitness of children for various occupations—kindergarten, school, athletics, work—by physiological rather than by chronological tests. The method on which he chiefly relies is by observing the development of the bones of the wrist by means of the Roentgen ray.

As a representative of the National Child Labor Committee, I wish to express our very great appreciation of the work Dr. Rotch has done, and our intense interest in the revelations promised from the field of research he has entered. Unfortunately, he has not quite understood our position at a few points, and I desire, therefore, to remove all misconception. The National Child Labor Committee has not officially adopted his plan for the following reasons:

(1) While wholly endorsing the general principle of erecting social safeguards upon the principle of development, by means of anatomical and physiological tests, the particular method by which it is done becomes of interest to us only after it has approved itself to those technically qualified to judge of its accuracy. From such information as we can glean, the profession is far from having arrived at any consensus regarding the accuracy of tests by wrist photography. A prominent orthopedic specialist goes so far as to say that instead of the development of the bones of the wrist being the most accurate measure of human development, the structure of the bones is here more subject to numerical variation, with the possible exception of the ankle, than any other part.

(2) Granting its accuracy as a physical test, as regards the relation between the development of the skeleton and that of the nervous system, we know without any assistance from the Roentgen ray that this often stands in inverse ratio. Not only has Dr. Rotch failed to report any extensive investigation into this phase of the matter, but even if he had, it must still be of minor import to us, since the physical tests implied in every good child labor law put the element of chronological age into a subsidiary place in the individual case, and the inverse ratio is thereby provided for. The standard we universally urge requires that, although a child may have passed a certain birthday, he shall be protected from exposure to the rigors of industrial life, unless he can also meet certain tests of physical development, readily applied by local physicians or intelligent school officials, and also gives evidence of a fair mental equipment. Even then we urge against

employment in certain industries, against occupation at night or for more than a reasonable number of hours per day.

(3) For practical purposes Dr. Rotch's scheme is hopelessly beyond reach. It requires a Roentgen outfit and an expert operator in every place where employment certificates are to be granted. At present he says there are but twenty physicians in the United States who are pediatricians, who are competent to judge of the matter. We doubt whether he could convince even the most radical legislature that he had a plan either feasible or reliable, or whether the interested public, awake to the ravages of child labor throughout the country, will wish us to cease our activities until all children can have their wrists photographed to determine whether they shall be consigned to hard labor for life.

(4) With Dr. Rotch's position, that children should be graded by development rather than by years, he would know, had he examined the work of the National Child Labor Committee, that we are in hearty accord; but he would also have learned from an examination of industries, as well as of children, that in default of the scientific knowledge he promises, no great harm will come from our efforts to guard children from the exactions of modern industry, even to the extent of increasing the age limit for employment. He says, regarding the efforts of the Child Labor Committee, to "increase the age in years required before a child shall labor, notably in the mills," "not only would such a law, if it could be obtained (which it never can be), be practically unwise and essentially wrong, but it would, according to our knowledge of young human beings, probably do harm in many ways." No child who enters school at seven years can get the required eight years of schooling before he is fourteen years old, no matter how many bones his wrist contains. The service of the Roentgen ray for purposes of consigning children to hard labor is palpably on the upper side of fourteen or possibly sixteen years and not below.

It is our effort not only to classify children by physical, nervous and mental development, but also to classify industries according to their fitness for the employment of youth. Even in the present somewhat chaotic condition of knowledge regarding juvenile development, it may be said with probable safety that the Roentgen ray will fail to reveal many ten-year-old children who are farther developed than the average sixteen-year-old child, or many sixteen-year-old children less developed than the average ten-year-old child. It is this span of six years over which those interested in the protection of children from injurious employment keep especial guard, and this for two reasons: First, because children within that age period constitute in the minds of many employers the cheapest and, therefore, the most desirable form of labor; second, because the child is at that time passing through the most critical period of its physical development. We may lack scientific terms in which to express our program at this point, but we believe, in default of clearer light, the assumption that protection is required at least to the sixteenth year, to be graded according to the child's apparent development and to the fitness of the industry—a fairly safe assumption.

Section II. was devoted to "Child Labor in Home Industries and Street Trades," Edward N. Clopper, Cincinnati, secretary for the Ohio Valley States, chairman.

Addresses were delivered by Miss Mary Van Kleeck,* New York, secretary, Committee on Women's Work, on "Child Labor in Home Industries," and by Mr. Clopper* on "Child Labor in Street Trades." In the discussion which followed, attention was called by E. W. Krackowizer, of New York, to the fact that in the section of the city with which he is familiar, employment of little children is more extensive among Italians and other races than among Jews, and asked:

"I wonder whether the licensed tenements are found full of child-workers on the lower East Side in so far as they are peopled by Jews?"

MISS VAN KLEECK: There is a small proportion of Russian Jews, but a very large majority of home-workers are Italians. However, the Russian Jew is not entirely free from home-work, largely in the manufacture of clothing and in carding buttons.

MISS McDOWELL: I think the condition in Chicago is very much that of New York, only not quite so bad, because not so overcrowded. We have no law to regulate home employment.

MR. FROST: There have been two steps taken in Wisconsin to regulate this form of labor. We succeeded in getting through the legislature last year a bill which includes a clause forbidding work of children under fourteen years in any factory or workshop, "or at any gainful occupation, directly or indirectly." In order to hit home-work, the words "manufacturing establishment" were defined to mean "any place where goods or products are manufactured or repaired, dyed, cleaned or assorted, stored or packed, in whole or in part, for sale or for wages." It is the opinion of many people in social settlements that sweatshop work and work done in tenements and homes especially need attention in Milwaukee.

MRS. ELMER J. BISSELL, Rochester, N. Y.: I know very little about it. As Rochester is a great center for the clothing industry and button trade, there is undoubtedly some tenement house labor in isolated places, but our compulsory education law has worked so well that inside of school hours we control the work very well.

MRS. G. W. B. CUSHING, New Jersey: Because of the fact that the New York law is much more sweeping and stringent than that in New Jersey, a great deal of tenement work comes over into New Jersey. We have found in Hudson County and in Newark very much of this sweated industry coming over because of the severe New York law. This seems to suggest a great demand for equal laws. The people go to New York and get their work and bring it back to New Jersey.

Tenement Workers.

MR. LOVEJOY: The worst feature of this home industry is in the large cities, because in smaller cities crowding is not so great. I suggest we consider the advisability of securing laws in the different states which would adequately cover this situation, not by licensing, but by forbidding

the manufacture of goods for commercial purposes in homes, in cities of the first and second class. If the system continue, it would tend to spread to the smaller places, where regulation would be less difficult. Manifestly, it would be impossible to devise a law forbidding home employment in smaller cities, because that would strike at other forms of domestic labor, which in some instances we should not wish to disturb. If such a law could apply only to larger cities, we might get enough interest aroused to secure it in many states.

MISS GORDON: Would that affect the girl who takes in a little sewing at home?

MR. LOVEJOY: It ought to affect any girl who takes in sewing at home, because sewing is work on which a great many other girls depend to keep themselves from starvation, and because, if the girl makes any money on the side, by taking work home at night, she is not only overworking herself, but is helping to crowd the market down, because she is willing to do the work cheaper. Hence she breaks down the standard of wages for the girls who depend solely on that for livelihood.

The difficulty of enforcing such a law has been suggested. Of course, the difficulty would be very great, but my point is that it would not be nearly as great as now. At present, all we do in New York City is to have inspectors go through these tenements, and find them in a sanitary condition. Under the other plan all the tenement house inspector would have to do would be to find whether any manufacturing was going on there of any kind, and that would be illegal. If we allow 11,000 tenements, under the most sanitary conditions, to engage in manufacturing pursuits, there is no way by which it can be determined whether children under sixteen or under ten, or under five, are working in them, because it would require 11,000 inspectors in New York City in order to do that effectively while 40 or 50 inspectors—perhaps less than that, under the other system—could do the work fairly well. Every time it was discovered that articles were sent into a tenement to be finished, or that articles were coming away finished, it would be pretty conclusive evidence that the law had been violated.

MR. FROST: Such a law could not be attempted in Wisconsin with our strong German, freedom-loving population, always in arms against such a thing.

MR. LOVEJOY: It would be difficult anywhere. The only hope would be to expose conditions enough to arouse public indignation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I should think that through the medium of the public school authorities something might be done.

MISS VAN KLEECK: The legal responsibility of the school extends through the hours when children are supposed to be in school. Many teachers and principals feel that very bad conditions exist among their pupils at home, and say that children come to school physically exhausted by their home work. But all they can do is to send truant officers after them, if they are absent during school hours. After school hours they are powerless to deal with the situation.

Street Trades.

Following the address by Mr. Clopper on "Street Trades," Mrs. Elmer J. Bissell reported verbally as the chairman of the Child Labor Committee of the Women's Industrial Union of Rochester. She told of the active interest of the women of her city in child labor matters, particularly with respect to newsboys. Among the interesting points brought out in her remarks the following deserve mention:

As a result of more vigorous enforcement of law the number of newsboys under sixteen years of age has been reduced from 400 to approximately 200. Complete enforcement has been difficult because of divided responsibility—the police and the school attendance officers each being charged with this duty. In Rochester one special policeman and two attendance officers have been assigned to this work. The volunteer workers of the Women's Committee have co-operated with these officers in reducing the number of unlicensed boys on the street until it is now an exception to find more than four or five in an afternoon selling without badges.

The Board of Education was influenced to continue throughout the summer vacation for the first time last summer two attendance officers and a clerk to supervise the law's enforcement when schools were not in session. This was an immeasurable gain over the preceding summer, as formerly the work of enforcing this law had to commence afresh with the opening of school, because of the badly demoralized conditions of the vacation period.

In Rochester the plan of committing violators to an institution—the penalty in the present statute—does not meet with favor. Instead, a very effective method of securing compliance with the law has been to compel a boy (selling in violation of its provisions) to sell out his papers at cost to a nearby newsboy. The boy is then taken home, the badge revoked, and the parents must come again to the Board of Education to apply for another badge.

An attempt was made to get the Common Council of the city to pass an ordinance requiring boys fourteen to sixteen to be licensed as well. The request was not granted, as the corporation counsel ruled that the proposal would be in conflict with the state law. The volunteer women workers by moral suasion are endeavoring to get the boys fourteen and over to apply voluntarily for badges. She said:

"I wish to add this word from Manchester, England. They prohibit girls from selling papers within a mile of the center of the city. They also require a newsboy or newsgirl to be decently clothed, so that they will not work upon the sympathies of the public, and in a majority of cases they are raising the age limit. The age is twelve years, instead of ten years, and the superintendent of truancy, who has been there thirty-five years, says that since 1903 the age limit has been gradually raised."

MISS McDOWELL: When I hear the story of Rochester and Wisconsin I hang my head in humiliation. The Chicago Settlement Federation in 1903 had a very good study made of newsboys. We thought if we got the facts we were able to show them to the newspapers, and put them before the

proper persons, we could secure their co-operation in bringing about a different system of selling papers. Miss Addams, representing the Federation of Settlements, went to the Publishers' Association; she saw the president and one of the most prominent newspaper men in Chicago. Both were unsympathetic and refused to touch the question at all. The president of the Publishers' Association said he would invite a committee to confer with their association, but no invitation ever came.

This report made by Myron Adams showed 1000 newsboys studied, and 12 per cent. of them under ten years of age. The study was made mostly of what we call the "loop" in Chicago. It was found that in one evening paper, where the manager of the paper had some conscience and a great deal of sentiment, the boys were cared for while waiting for papers, but in other places conditions were disgraceful. It is most interesting, by the way, to see the sentimental side of the whole question. Two of these men had been newsboys in early days, and they could not get over the fact that they had been, and that they were now successful. For that reason they would not touch the question. One of these gentlemen has on his desk a most beautiful little bronze statue of a newsboy crying papers. It is this self-made man argument that hinders us with the public and with the press.

News girls.

How are we going to get public opinion awakened, for this is what we must have—an intelligent public opinion that will not stand for such conditions? How are we to promote it when the newspapers—the very papers that backed the child labor law—will not help in any way? I went to St. Louis a year ago this fall, and as I left the railroad station and took the street car—and, you know, the railroad station in St. Louis is very near the slums—two tiny girls, one not five years of age, a most attractive little baby, and her older little sister of about ten years of age, stood selling papers on the corner of the street, where all kinds of people were passing, after dark. During this visit I spoke in public twice and told the same story, and the fact that it was girls and not boys selling papers won a hearing, and the press took it up and backed the charity workers and social workers in their efforts to get these little girls off the streets. Before that they had been trying and trying, but had been unsuccessful.

Near the hotel where I was staying I saw under even more dangerous conditions very attractive young girls, twelve and thirteen years old, selling newspapers. I asked a large manly looking newsboy, who seemed to have charge of certain street corners not far off, about it, and he said, "I can't do anything with them. They are so pert, and they are getting worse every day. I can't manage them at all." He was quite stunned by the situation, as everybody was who saw it. It just happened because it was girls that the press did take up that question in St. Louis and get rid of those little things near the railroad station, but the other girls are still selling newspapers, while in Chicago little children of ten and twelve years are pretending to sell papers, but really begging on the streets after dark and at all hours, if not prevented by the truant officer, so the situation in Chicago is most discouraging.

I said at the child labor convention in Chicago—and I say it again—until we can in some way get the ear of the public we shall not succeed. I am perfectly certain that no person wants his newspapers at the expense of little children, and it is not only these boys down in the "loop" that we are obliged to protect, but I have discovered that the morning newspaper that comes to my breakfast table—that comes to every house early in the morning—is secured by little school boys at 5.30, one mile away, which means that school boys ten and twelve years of age must get up at 4.30 in the morning, winter and summer, in order to deliver their papers and get to school by nine o'clock. This condition the public cannot learn at all, because the press wishes to ignore the question. I do not know what we can do unless we can get a large amount of money and work through street car advertising or something of that kind.

Special Delivery Letters.

I wonder if we have ever investigated the subject of postal special delivery children. One night at half-past eleven o'clock a boy under fourteen years brought to me a special delivery letter. Here was the United States Government breaking the law of Illinois—sending a little boy out to our house, seven miles, a forty-five-minute ride, from the postoffice. I at once wrote our postmaster. He made some excuses and said that it should never happen again. It has not happened out our way again, but I wonder whether it has been happening in other cities and states?¹

I fear that this is a most doleful story I am telling, because we have not made any progress. We are just standing still. The socialists do not help us as they do in Wisconsin. Milwaukee and Rochester seem to me quite marvelous any way. We want light and encouragement on this question. It does not seem to me, with the exception of Milwaukee, Rochester and Boston, that we are getting anywhere in protecting this class of child labor that comes very close to all of us. Why should the newspaper employer be the only one we leave in the irresponsible position of heading an unregulated industry? In Illinois we are unable to bring the newsboy under any child labor law because the courts define him as a "merchant"—he buys and sells again.

MR. FROST: With all due respect to the people who do, I do not believe in fining a child at all. We take the badge away for six months for first offense; we take the child to the Juvenile Court for the second offense, but fining is entirely unsatisfactory.

GEORGE A. HALL: I spoke at the section meeting a year ago in Chicago. There is practically nothing additional to report. The situation is as unsatisfactory as ever in New York City. We have poor enforcement of law—spasmodic enforcement—largely, I think, because of lack of a proper kind of penalty. I agree with Mr. Frost that perhaps we should not penalize the child, but I do feel strongly that we ought to hold the adult responsible—either the parent, the newspaperman, or somebody, and until we can, I

¹In 1908 orders were issued by the Postmaster-General forbidding the employment of children in carrying special delivery letters.

have not much hope for a thorough enforcement of law—in New York City at least. With the exception of Rochester, where the law applies, the other first- and second-class cities in the state are just about as bad as New York, if not worse. No enforcement, and little attention paid the subject. We must this year begin a legislative campaign to raise the standard of the law, to raise the age limit to twelve years, and particularly to adjust the question of penalty.

MISS McDOWELL: We could not touch the subject of hours unless we tried to get the newsboys under our child labor law.

MISS GORDON: The newsboys' work has been a constant reproach to us. I have been solicitous about the child on the stage, but it is well housed, clothed and fed, whereas we have allowed children to run the streets at night selling papers. But I shall make it an issue, because New Orleans is the only city in the state where we have the newsboy problem, and I have intended to apply to it the same section on night work under the Louisiana law, whereby no boy under the age of sixteen, and no girl under the age of eighteen can be employed at night, except in domestic industries.

Mr. Philip Davis, Boston, supervisor of licensed minors, discussed the subject under the impression that those interested in the regulation of street trades looked upon the newsboy, the bootblack or the peddler as criminal or delinquent children. This he denied, citing in evidence his three years' experience as supervisor of licensed minors in Boston, in which capacity he has been with the boys every day; watched them at their work, followed them in play, at their homes, on street cars and everywhere. He has studied their records in court, in public school, in the Parental School, the Suffolk School and the Lyman School. His conclusion was that newsboys, boot-blacks, peddlers and such, are not necessarily criminal, delinquent or defective in any way. "We find the boys in the city of Boston under the licensing system decidedly the best class of boys in school. . . . No children under a certain age ought to sell on the street. No girls ought to sell. No boys ought to sell before six in the morning or after eight at night, not because it brings them to court, but because you would not permit your boy or girl to sell after eight o'clock. No boy ought to sell in school hours, obviously, for if he sells in school hours, he will not get much out of school. In the city of Boston we have accomplished this: First, we have taken all girls off the streets. You cannot find a girl selling on the streets to-day. And, secondly, we have no boys under eleven years of age, and among bootblacks, none under twelve. We have stopped boys from selling papers before six in the morning or after eight at night. Any boy wanting to sell papers must be in regular attendance at school, must be in good standing and the certificate comes from the teacher, signed by the master, and goes through the Boston School Board.

"I desire to say that no police officer is competent to deal with newsboys. The only thing he can do is to arrest the boy, which is not necessary, nor is it necessary to fine him. I find that a perfectly humane treatment of children forced on the street because of family conditions is most effective. The boys in Boston have instituted a system of self-government of news-

boys, giving each school its own captain and lieutenant, and those captains and lieutenants know more about selling papers and delinquency than all the police officers in the city. The beginning of this successful work was when the school board said, 'We are going to make one man responsible.'"

Mr. Davis explained that the system provides that every licensed minor shall wear a badge on the back of which, in the boy's own handwriting, appears his name, and these badges are frequently examined by police officers.

MISS GORDON: In New Orleans a great many children cannot write their names.

MR. DAVIS: No boy can be licensed in Boston unless he can read and write and understand the law under which he is licensed.

MISS McDOWELL: Boston has gone far ahead, but many things are not obvious to people who have no law, and, therefore, we ought not to be satisfied because Boston has succeeded. The evils of child life on the street are denied by many people, and we will have to show the dangers of the street, and that it is a tremendous evil for boys and girls to be on the street—not to prove that newsboys or newsgirls are bad, but that there is great danger, and all this I feel has not yet been proven.

An address was given by Miss Pauline Goldmark,* New York, supervisor, research work, New York School of Philanthropy, on "Child Labor in Canneries."

Following this address, Mr. Lord said:

"I want to say a word about the canning situation in Maine. It is a report of progress, a progress of science, not of legislation, because the canners of Maine have succeeded in defeating every attempt to restrict labor in any way in the sardine canneries, child labor, the hours of labor for adults and everything else. They have no restriction whatever. The law is entirely open for the sardine canners.

"At the last legislature the men who make cans came up and asked to have the same exemption extended to them. The canners had the exemption on the ground that the fish were perishable. Now, the canmakers came up and said the cans are also perishable, they rust very quickly and must be made up in great numbers when they are needed right away. We found that the people who were making the boxes in which the cans were placed wanted a similar exemption because the cans had to be boxed so quickly, and many others were following on that trail to get exemptions. I am glad to say that while we were unable to make any progress, we were able to stop that. No further exemptions were made. Now, however, in some of the largest canneries on the coast of Maine they are putting in machines which will do practically all the work now being done by children. As soon as those are in operation the large canners will be very glad to have a law passed prohibiting employment of children, and I hope we may get a law which will remove that exemption. Our prospects are pretty good. The sardine industry is the only important one which now employs great numbers of children."

MRS. CUSHING: The northern part of New Jersey is so close to New York and the southern part so close to Pennsylvania, we are having this

canning industry trouble. Public school teachers find large numbers of Italians leaving school so early that they applied to us for an investigation. We found entire families were coming over in large numbers from New York and Philadelphia, leaving school very early and remaining in New Jersey till after the cranberries were gathered. The children going back would not reach Philadelphia till November, and from the fact that they were Philadelphia children the New Jersey officers could do nothing. But these children returning to Philadelphia had lost all interest in the schools and were reinforcing a large number of truants. We could see no help except by applying to the Board of Health because the conditions under which they lived were in every respect so bad. But the Boards of Health were very little interested, and we applied to one of the governors (not the present one) to see whether he could use his influence in the southern part of New Jersey. He said he had not the least interest in them or sympathy for them because they were better off in New Jersey than in tenement houses.

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject of housing conditions is important. Miss Lilian M. Skinner, school attendance officer, Westfield, N. Y., will tell us something about "Rural School Attendance and Child Labor."

MISS SKINNER: I have seen the canning factories on the side reverse from that from which Miss Goldmark has looked at them, the side which shows how labor in them under existing conditions affects the lives of the laborers. These laborers are nearly always entire families.

"I came to know the S—— family last spring, when acting as school visitor among the Italian children of the school of a village in New York state. The teacher's note after the name of the thirteen-year-old son Joe was, "Bad boy," so I visited the home of the "Bad boy." Seven years ago the father brought his family here from Buffalo, a city which has been a distributing center for Italians. For three summers past the entire family of seven people has worked from June to November in the canning factory of a neighboring town. S—— makes fifteen cents an hour working inside the factory the oldest son of sixteen makes ten cents; Joe makes eight; Louis and the little sisters do not work, they "dassent." The mother and Antonia make eight cents an hour, but every hour and a half "she got to home and nurse the baby." The family has the use of one room, about ten by ten feet, and in the long corridor they share a cook stove with three other families. The mother described the place. "We live awful bad there, we got a room one-half the size of this one, we got two beds in and at night another; that is an awful hard time. We got bed bugs in the night and can't sleep. When it is hot we got stay up half the night." I said, "Why do you go there?" She replied, "What you goin' do, got to work somewheres, goin' say, 'Give me piece bread?'" These living conditions, repeated each summer, may be one cause of the foul and immoral talk in the ears of his little schoolmates which made Joe's teacher write under his name "Bad boy."

"October, with its tomatoes, is the best month for money-making in canning factories, and the oldest son, Jim, returning the first of November, two months late for school, was dropped back to his grade of the year before. He said to his father, "You can kill me if you want to, but I

won't go back in the seventh grade." He looked for work, but the winter of 1908 and 1909 was a hard one for jobs; he was ashamed to stay at home, so spent his winter in the back room of B——'s barber shop. He is one of the few boys in the Italian colony to have made the seventh grade, but in regard to industrial efficiency, he is no better off than the boys who drop out after the fourth or fifth grade. He is a casual laborer, and except for his knowledge of English is no better off than his father who spent his first twenty-one years in the interior of Sicily, without going to school, and since has spent twenty-four years in America without going to school.

"Close to the evil conditions of the canneries lies the neglect of our villages and smaller towns where foreigners go in ever-increasing numbers. In October, 1906, believing many Italian families were keeping their children in the canning factories of neighboring towns illegally, I offered to look up the truant Italian children of our villages; but was told by the principal there were none. The next day a hasty note came to say that he was mistaken, that they were not truants because they had failed to register, and that the Italian children were out of school almost in a body. In October, 1909, the Italian children sent home from the canneries in the beginning of the school year dropped out for two, three or four weeks to work in grape harvesting, a local industry, or else to care for the younger children while both parents worked picking grapes from seven in the morning to six at night. Children of ten, eleven and twelve did this on verbal permission by the principal. So-called permits to work—properly, school certificates—are given by the same principal on the mere statement of the children, and boys and girls holding these permits remain out of school all winter without work, as there is little or no work for children during the winter.

"In New York state, not to attend school when not working, even though the permit be held, is as illegal as to work without a permit. Below all these failures to enforce or even recognize the law lies the fact that children do not care for school. Our curriculum does not hold them. One young girl, just under fifteen, sits at home through this winter with empty mind and hands. Her mother does the housework. She has reached the sixth grade, and does not wish to go further. "Won't you go to school?" I asked her. "No," she replied. "Why not?" "I don't want to go." "Why don't you want to go?" "I don't know." Her father, a Sicilian, has bought a house and lives well. "She can go if she wants to," he said. The academic subjects we teach do not interest her. These subjects are too far away from living. They do not prepare these children for the lives they must live, nor do they stimulate or make them eager to take part in the world's work. Now that the trolleys go everywhere there is no reason why teachers, who train the hand with the mind, should not go from one village to another, just as in cities they go from one school to another. It is even said that the solution of the immigration problem is to put the immigrant into the country districts. In these villages we have the immigrants in the country of their own initiative. But except for freedom from the congestion of the great

cities, they are no better off as regards their own lives nor as regards their relation to the community of which they make a part. In the country, just as in cities, it is necessary to train and to educate; it is necessary to enforce as well as to make law."

MISS GOLDMARK: In New York children can no longer work in a cannery proper where machinery is used, but no machinery has been found to string beans, which is the great product of the state and in which children are a great help. We very much need further legislation to cover employment of children in sheds. In regard to housing, the evil has been so gross we are likely to get some state regulation this winter.

MISS MINOR: Why does not the education law apply to children in New York state? No matter what village they are residing in at the time, they should be compelled to attend school, even if they change their residence every few weeks. If this is a state law, why does it not apply to children migrating from one county to another?

MISS GOLDMARK: It is a serious matter to provide schooling, and I think it must be met by having camp colony schools.

MISS SKINNER: The law is not enforced. There is no one sufficiently interested. Otherwise, it might be.

THE CHAIRMAN: The program reads: Child labor in canneries, truck gardening, tobacco and beet-sugar fields. And as truck gardening, tobacco and beet-sugar fields relate to garden labor and canneries to factory labor, we must differentiate between the two, and as Miss Goldmark has presented to us such an insight into the canneries, I think we ought to learn a little further in regard to this. If there is any one present familiar with the condition of canneries in New York state, or anywhere else, we shall be glad to hear from them.

DR. MCKELWAY: Mr. Chairman, I paid a visit to Pass Christian, Miss., last spring. I had investigated the oyster canning industry in the Gulf states to some extent before. I was amazed at the number of small children who were employed in the oyster shucking factories. There are a good many along the Gulf coast, some on the South Carolina. I found that the workers were Bohemian and Polish children from Baltimore. Our chief adversary in the fight for a better child labor law in Florida was the owner of an oyster cannery in Apalachicola. I visited his factory and saw acres of oyster shells there fifteen feet deep, and a great proportion of those oysters had been taken out of the shells by little children. We would not make any exemption in the Florida law, although we had to accept the twelve-year-age limit, and last year the proposal was made again that we could have the fourteen-year-age limit if we would exempt this oyster canning industry, which we declined to do.

Now here was a very interesting situation, that these people were brought from Baltimore and other parts of Maryland and Delaware in the winter season to shuck the oysters along the Gulf coast. Mr. Hine went to Maryland and made some investigations there, and he made a very interesting study of the situation and took a large number of photographs. The children in this oyster canning industry and fruit and vegetable canning in-

dustries are smaller than any children I ever saw in industrial work, smaller even than in the southern cotton mills. Miss Goldmark has spoken of the prejudice against these children and the difficulty of taking them into the schools. I found the same prejudice to exist in Florida, and the difficulty there is that they have had no compulsory school law, so the children have absolutely no schooling. The schools are not open in Maryland in the canning season, and then in the winter months the workers go to the Gulf coast.

Migrating Child Labor.

MISS ANNA HERKNER, Baltimore: It is perfectly possible for a child to be born in Baltimore and grow up to the age of fourteen and never attend school. That is what is going on all the time. I want to make just a slight correction to something Dr. McKelway said. It is mostly Poles and not Bohemians who go south. Bohemians have done that in times past, but the public schools have had an Americanizing influence, so they have now reached the stage where they understand American institutions better. The first children—the first generation of those born here—who do not come under the influence of the public school, make the troublesome element in our community. The Poles in Baltimore are now at the stage where the Bohemians were twenty years ago. They work in canneries and on farms under such conditions as have been described. The child labor law in Maryland permits them to work in the cannery both in the country and in the city until the middle of October. It is usually November before they all get back, and about the end of November they begin going south. There are any number of families who do that, who have done that for years, and we have now children—many cases I know—who have never been to school. It is the first time they have felt the need of knowing how to read and write simple English. Children who have never been in school before are now being pushed that they may pass the educational test for work permits. I think Maryland is the one southern state that has the distinction of a good compulsory education law in force.

The possibility of regulating the migration of people from one state to another was discussed and Dr. McKelway suggested a license tax upon agents who go into a state to get laborers for other states. North Carolina and Tennessee have laws of this kind. He said, "If Maryland would pass a similar law, it would at least discourage this wholesale migration to the southern states."

The fact was brought out that many of the children work in Maryland canneries until the middle of October. Before the truant officer reaches them to compel attendance, they have gone south to work in tobacco or oyster establishments along the Gulf.

The Chairman, Mr. Clopper, said: The compulsory education law of Kentucky in its bearing upon the rural districts is very defective, and as the rural schools are open for six months, and as most roads are in very bad condition in the spring, the session begins in July and ends some time in January. Farmers who raise tobacco and other crops need the children,

who are consequently deprived of schooling. Kentucky is the leading state in the production of tobacco. We are going to try at this session of the legislature to improve the compulsory education law with respect to rural districts.

Child Labor in Tobacco Fields.

The children work in tobacco, hoeing, plowing, cultivating and picking worms off the leaves and suckers from the plants. That lasts during the summer, then after the tobacco has been cured, some time in October or November, they start stripping the leaves. They assist in all that work, and then the tobacco goes to the stemmery to be stemmed, where child labor is again used, but under the inspection of the state factory inspector. Until the tobacco arrives at the warehouse, the state factory inspector has nothing whatever to do with the matter, and the children are kept out of school, beginning at the opening of the season in July until late in November. Consequently they go for only six or eight weeks in the winter. There is not a single truant officer in the counties of Kentucky. They are still under the old district trustee system, which is a flat failure, and we are trying to get some kind of good compulsory education law for these districts, and some one to enforce it. A great many children do not go to school at all. These children in Kentucky are pure American stock; they are not foreigners. The foreign population in Kentucky is about 1 per cent. of the total population, and these little boys and girls are growing up in ignorance.

This is a serious phase of the agricultural problem. The labor of children in the field is not detrimental to their health, but the great wrong is that during the period of childhood, they are practically deprived of an opportunity for education.

Georgia Cotton Fields.

MRS. PACE: I should like to speak for Georgia—of the cotton field. I think we have the same trouble there that they do in the Kentucky tobacco fields. It is very hard to get a child in school more than six or eight weeks in the year. Consequently, when these boys grow up and find they are just laboring from year to year, and have nothing higher to look forward to, they leave their homes and go off to the city to school, and they make very poor subjects to come into a city. They fall in with an ignorant class of people, and that causes a great deal of suffering and wickedness in our cities. I have been in the rural districts of Georgia for nearly thirty years, teaching most of the time, away from my work hardly a month in the year. I find that parents have very little thought about taking their children out of the fields. A boy of ten or twelve years, also little girls at that age, can hoe cotton like the older people, and consequently it is difficult to get them out of the fields into the schools more than six or eight weeks during the year.

Resolutions.

The following resolution was presented by Dr. McKelway and unanimously adopted, after which the final session of the sixth annual conference adjourned.

Resolved, That the National Child Labor Committee extend its grateful thanks to its host, the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, making special mention of the Conference Committee and the Reception Committee, for the complete provision made for the comfort and convenience of the delegates and for the success of this convention; to the State Federation of Women's Clubs for its hospitality; to the officers of Boston University for the use of the halls of the Liberal Arts Building; to the press of the city for the liberal space given for the publicity of our proceedings, and to the good people of Boston whose sympathetic interest in the cause of child labor reform has been an inspiration, whose many kindnesses and courtesies will be held in grateful remembrance.

APPENDIX

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY AND PROHIBITION OF NIGHT WORK

*Report of Public Hearing Before Committee on Labor, General
Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*

FEBRUARY, 1910

STATE HOUSE, BOSTON, February 2, 1910.

CHAIRMAN: We have here four bills listed for to-day's hearing, and if there is no objection we will proceed with House bill No. 329 accompanying the petition of Richard K. Conant for legislation relative to the hours of labor for children under sixteen years of age. Is there anybody here who appears in behalf of the petitioners?

MR. HOWARD W. BROWN: Mr. Chairman, I appear in favor of House Bill No. 329. I appear as a member of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, not as counsel for anybody. This bill, No. 329, as also bills Nos. 330 and 331, have been introduced by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, the petitioner in each case being Richard K. Conant, secretary of that committee.

I think it important at the outset to tell you what the Massachusetts State Child Labor Committee is. The membership of the committee is shown by its letter-head, a copy of which I will leave with the clerk, and it is not necessary to further discuss that matter now. The committee was organized two years ago, partly as an outcome of the national movement in favor of child labor reform which is centralized in the National Child Labor Committee with headquarters in New York, and which has established local child labor committees in many States in the Union. The Massachusetts State Committee has in addition to this source of its existence another source; it is the successor of a group of individuals who, under leadership of the Consumers' League, have been interested in local child labor reform in Massachusetts for a great number of years, so that the committee has behind it not only the experience of the

National Committee, but also the experience of these local workers for a number of years engaged in the problem of child labor.

During its first year the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee determined not to introduce any legislation whatever, but rather to study conditions, to the end that when it did make up its mind to introduce bills it should know precisely what it wanted. We have spent that year in the study of conditions and in consideration of child labor affairs in Massachusetts, and reached the conclusion that in five important respects the child labor laws of Massachusetts are below the standard we ought to maintain. In these five respects we are well behind many other States in the Union and we believe the time is entirely ripe for us to catch up. We think of Massachusetts as being a leader in progressive child labor legislation. As a matter of fact, she is becoming a laggard. Accordingly, to cover these five points, we have introduced five bills, three of which come before you this morning. Let me say most emphatically, however, Mr. Chairman, that we have not introduced these bills simply because we find that other states are in advance of us in legislation or simply because we are idealists in regard to child labor reform. These bills have been carefully considered from a practical as well as an ideal point of view with reference to actual local conditions. They have been submitted to the Child Labor Committee as a whole by its executive committee; they have been submitted to a conference of child-helping societies and of other individuals with knowledge and experience with regard to the working children of Massachusetts, and they have not been introduced till we first satisfied ourselves that from the entirely practical working point of view they will if enacted be good, sound legislation and of material benefit to the community.

The first of these bills is House Bill No. 329. This is a bill to provide an eight-hour day for all children under sixteen years of age in Massachusetts, however employed. Under existing laws children under sixteen years of age may work fifty-eight hours a week without any daily limit in mercantile establishments, and in manufacturing and mechanical establishments they may work ten hours a day or fifty-six hours a week, and the daily limit is slightly extended in practice by the provision of the law that you can work for more hours on five days in the week for the purpose of making a shorter day on the sixth day of the week. As a practical result, in mechan-

ical establishments they can be worked more than ten hours a day. For that we propose you should substitute an eight-hour day for children in all occupations. This eight-hour day for children under sixteen is not a far-distant goal toward which we are blindly striving. It is already an accomplished fact in seven of our sister states and in the District of Columbia, this very provision of law which we are asking you to enact. And six other states in the Union, although they have not yet reached the eight-hour day for children under sixteen, are farther along the road toward that provision than is Massachusetts. We believe this movement so well started, now being pushed by the National Child Labor Committee, before many years will inevitably cover the whole country. Sooner or later, and in any event before many years, Massachusetts will certainly adopt this eight-hour day for children under sixteen, and under these circumstances, apart from my firm belief in the merits of the bill itself, we want to see Massachusetts adopt it now, because if Massachusetts does adopt this bill now she can take her place among the leaders in this movement, and if she doesn't adopt it now it will not be long before she will have to come in at the tail end.

Massachusetts has already disregarded one opportunity to place this law upon her statute books. Two years ago Governor Guild recommended this precise measure in his inaugural address to the legislature, and it was defeated. We ask you to consider this matter most seriously and think well before you decide once more to hold back the Commonwealth from taking her place among the leaders in child labor legislation.

Of course, all this has nothing to do with the merits of the bill. It is mere color and background, but it does, it seems to me, bring us to this point: that here is a matter which, in view of the legislation in other states, in view of the movement which has now spread all over the country for the eight-hour day for children under sixteen, we ought to consider most seriously.

If I may be allowed I will block out the outline of our arguments in favor of the bill, so that at the outset the whole skeleton of our case may be before you, and shall then leave it to other speakers more able and better informed than I to put on the meat.

The reasons in favor of this bill are two: First, it will be a benefit to the working children of Massachusetts, and consequently to the community as a whole. Second, no industry in Massachu-

setts will be injured by the legislation to any such extent as to come anywhere near counteracting the benefit to the community through the betterment of the conditions surrounding working children. As for the question of the injury to industry, I think it fair to take the position that when an industry comes in here at this hearing and complains that it is going to be injured by this legislation, we will undertake to deal with that objection. The employers of children in Massachusetts have been thoroughly notified that this bill would be introduced this year, through the newspapers and through circulars sent to them. If it be true that any industry is to be injured by this legislation, it is certainly for that industry to come to this hearing and present its arguments and its objections in such shape that we may answer them, if there be any answer to them. Accordingly, so far as the question of injuring industry goes, I do not propose to take it up as part of our case. Coming then to the question of the effect of this legislation upon the children, I do not believe there is any man or woman in Massachusetts, whose opinion is worth anything at all, who will not agree that if other conditions surrounding children remain the same, it is better for them to work eight hours a day than to work ten or more hours a day. The physical and mental strain of being occupied constantly at a task, however light that task, for more than ten hours a day, cannot help interfering with the proper physical development of a child under sixteen years of age. And many of our working children, as appears from this year's report of the State Board of Health, are working under conditions which are not beneficial to the child, which are distinctly unhygienic, and beyond any question it is better for the child to work eight hours.

Equally important is the fact that the lack of any time allowed for recreation and relaxation under long working hours, necessarily retards the proper development of the child mentally and morally. The monotonous nature of many tasks in modern industry, the mere repetition of a single act, tends to make of the child a mere unthinking, spiritless machine; allows no room for the proper development of that child's faculties.

Objection of Poverty.

The question is not whether it is better for a child to work ten hours a day than eight. It must be true that a child under sixteen, other conditions remaining the same, is better off if he has to work

only eight hours a day than if he is compelled to work ten hours a day.

The question is, whether, by shortening the hours, we indirectly injure children in other ways, and persons will be found who say that, in spite of the conditions and the direct advantages children will gain if their hours are shortened, they are, nevertheless, better off as it is, because if we shorten their hours, we will indirectly injure them in other ways. Let me say of such arguments in general that they are the usual bugbears always ready in objection to any child labor legislation, and that, for the most part, they have been found absolutely unsound. Let me say further that it is generally, if not always, the person who desires to employ children under sixteen who jumps up and points out that children will be better off if allowed to work ten hours a day than if restricted to eight hours. I do not believe that any person who is an employer of children or who represents an employer of children will be present at this hearing and object to this bill on any of these grounds. What are the objections that may be raised? In what indirect way are we going to injure children under sixteen if we shorten their hours from ten or more to eight? In the first place, it will be suggested that the earning capacity of the children will be reduced, that poverty will result. As to that, experience and investigation have shown that there are mighty few children under sixteen in Massachusetts working to-day because of necessity. They are working in order that the family may have more than the bare actual necessities of life, in order that there may be a piano in the household, a new rug, a new lamp, better food—at all events, more than actual necessities. Those things are all very well and it is good for working people to have them, but it cannot be right to throw the burden of procuring them upon an overworked child under the age of sixteen.

In those few cases in which children under sixteen are working in order to keep the wolf from the door and in which their wages are actually necessary in order to support the family, we believe this objection to legislation is also unsound. If it be true that a family must have, in order to live, the wages of the child under sixteen who is working in a manner which is bad for them, we believe the remedy to be applied is not to overwork the child, but to support the family. That is a case for charity, and the money invested by the community in supporting that family will be well invested, be-

cause the child who is overworked under the age of sixteen years, not only is prevented from becoming a wealth-producer in the future, by which the community loses, but is also in danger of becoming a direct source of expense to the community as an adult pauper. These are the reasons for which we believe the poverty bugbear, the notion that we must not pass this legislation because we may diminish the earning capacity of the children, is unsound. We should count, rather, the cost to the community of overworking that child and not count the temporary cost of taking care of the child's family in those few cases where the child is working from actual necessity.

Limiting Opportunity

Another argument which may be made, to the effect that children will be indirectly injured by shortening their hours, although directly the gainers, is that the children may be excluded from the more advantageous employments and forced to take other occupations. We ask you to remember that the exclusion, even if it does take place, is only temporary, only for two years at most, because they cannot work until they are fourteen and all occupations will be open to them at sixteen. And we ask you to believe that it is better for the child to wait until he is sixteen before entering the advantageous employments rather than to overwork himself under sixteen for the purpose of getting into those employments at a young age.

The last objection which may be made along these lines and the veriest bugbear of them all is that the child being allowed more leisure, or perhaps being thrown out of employment altogether because of short hours, will spend the extra time so given him in degrading surroundings, that he will make a very much worse use of that time than if he were in the mills or any other occupation.

Mr. Chairman, the conditions in Massachusetts are not such that it is necessary to overwork our children under sixteen in order to keep them from degrading surroundings. We have schools; day schools which they may attend, night schools which they may attend if they are not too much exhausted by their day's labor; we are fast establishing for their benefit vocational industrial schools. We have boys' clubs, private charities, Christian Associations, and other organizations which are helping the boys and girls of the Commonwealth. It is not true that the danger to a child's mental and moral development lies in giving him freedom and liberty

here in Massachusetts. The danger lies in working him so hard that he has neither time nor energy to take advantage of the many opportunities for self-improvement which surround him here.

Those briefly are the reasons we urge in support of this eight-hour bill for children under sixteen. I have simply given an outline in order that you may have the whole subject as we see it at the start, and I shall leave it for the speakers following to drive home the points I have made and argue more at length regarding them.

I am going to ask Dr. Kingsbury to speak. Dr. Kingsbury is Professor of Economics in Simmons' College, and has made a broad study into actual conditions in Massachusetts in regard to working children under sixteen years of age.

CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask Mr. Brown if he has any statistics bearing on the children working through necessity. You say children do not work through necessity; that they work to put luxuries in the house, such as pianos, etc. Have you any statistics bearing on that matter?

MR. BROWN: Dr. Kingsbury can tell you much more than I can in regard to that, and if I may be allowed to refer that matter to her, I will do so.

DR. KINGSBURY: Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. In 1906 the so-called Douglas Commission made an investigation of conditions of children at work. A sub-committee of that commission particularly undertook a study of the relation of children to industries, and it was my pleasure to conduct the investigation for that commission, and the report of that investigation was printed in the report of the commission in 1906 (page 25 and following). There are two or three introductory statements I should like to make in regard to the effect this bill may have upon the industries and upon the families of the children who are at work in the State of Massachusetts. This investigation covered the study of the more important communities of the state. It used what is known as the personal method and interviewed some three hundred firms in the various industries and also visited the families of 5,000 children who were at work or who had commenced work in Massachusetts between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years. It is an interesting fact that the number of children employed in the important industries of the state—and by children I am now referring to those between fourteen and sixteen years of age—is decreasing.

It was particularly interesting to see that the employers in all of the more important industries, except, perhaps, the cotton industry, such as the manufacture of boots and shoes and the woolen industry, the manufacture of jewelry, printing and publishing, express themselves as not wishing to employ children between fourteen and sixteen years of age, and the statistics furthermore bear out the statement that they are not actually employing children between fourteen and sixteen years of age. And, further, in reference to a statement of the previous speaker that even if the child should have to postpone entry into the better industries it would be but for two years, I should like to state that the child does not now get an opportunity to enter the better industries before the age of sixteen or eighteen. That is, if we use as a term "better industry" the industry which gives the child training in a skilled process.

It was also very interesting to note that in visiting many cotton industries or firms, the employers who on the face of the matter were inclined to argue that the need of the child from fourteen to sixteen in the conduct of the industry was very important, in attempting to prove their contention on referring to their books found that they had very few children actually so employed. I remember one case in particular where after a most vigorous argument that the child was necessary to the industry, the employer found that he had on his books comparatively few children who were not sixteen years of age. The case is also particularly interesting, as for instance in the woolen industry, that the number of children between fourteen and sixteen years of age is not only proportionately small, but there is a uniform testimony to the effect that the number is actually decreasing.

Do Not Want Child Labor

It may be of value, as the question asked for statistical material, to refer to some statistics with regard to these 300 firms visited and interviewed, without discrimination as to what the business might be, to find that 63 per cent. of the employers declared that the children were not of value to their industry, and if I were to run through the list of these industries, excluding the cotton industry—and even there at least one-third declared the children were not of value to the industry—we should find the percentage very high indeed, something over 90 per cent. declared that children were not

of value to the industry. It is interesting to find also that only 20 per cent., including the cotton industry, said they really wished to employ children, but it was a matter of competition and opportunity. We find, furthermore, that only a little over 50 per cent. of the total number of firms interviewed actually are employing children under sixteen years of age, and of that number a large proportion will be found in the cotton industry.

Referring to the attitude of children and parents with regard to the entry in the industries by the children under sixteen years of age, it is perhaps equally significant that we should note that it is the child and not the parent who decides that the child shall begin work between fourteen and sixteen years of age. This somewhat approaches the question asked the previous speaker. We find parents are continually responding to any query as to why the child has left school to go to work, that the child wished to do so. It was perhaps the influence of other children at work; perhaps the fact that the child was not interested in the work of school, or that there had been some school trouble. Whatever it may have been, the child and not the parent seems to be responsible for the child's leaving school before sixteen years of age.

Child Labor Unnecessary

With regard to the next question, as to the real need of these children to go to work, it may perhaps be brought into the statement in connection with the attitude of the parent and of the child.

I have here the statistics which have been asked for. In trying to show what the basis of that statement is, permit me to say that the judgment of the investigation depended not only upon the report by the parents—that meant, usually, by the mother—as to the income of the family and the necessity for putting the child to work, but it depended also upon the general surroundings of the home and upon the attitude of the parent in regard to future positions as well. Therefore, we feel that the statistical basis may be accepted as at least approaching accuracy. The estimate as to the financial status of the family showed that 76 per cent. of the families were capable of giving their children industrial training if persuaded of the advantage. We found the percentage of parents who actually expressed their opinion or made a statement that it was not necessary that the child should continue at work, even larger. The percentage

was taken not only upon the basis of the attitude of the parent, but upon the report with regard to the wage-earning capacity of the family, and in every case this excluded the income of the child, of all children in the family, between fourteen and sixteen at that moment. That is, the wage which they were turning into the family was not included in the family income.

Wasted Years

We find that after all the child does not secure an advantage by entering the industry between fourteen and sixteen from the point of view of the future earning capacity of the child. A study of the situation was made particularly in North Adams and the opportunity of the children to secure an income was studied upon the basis of those children who had commenced work after sixteen years of age. While the returns were not perhaps sufficiently large to make one speak with the same confidence that one presents the earlier material, the indication is certainly that the earning capacity of the child who enters work after sixteen very quickly overtakes and surpasses the earning capacity of the child who begins work before sixteen years of age. So far as the family is concerned, in the long run perhaps after a few years, even the income of the family would not be decreased, but would be increased could the children be excluded from work earlier than the age of sixteen.

I am presenting this data purely to show that a law of this type, even though it did work to the exclusion of children from the industries between fourteen and sixteen years of age, even though it could not be worked out as in Ohio that shifts of children might be used in the industry, it would not work an injury to three-fourths of the children at work or to the families of the children at work in the state, and that would mean, of course, a larger proportion of the actual number of children. It may be well to state that the conclusions of this investigation have been borne out not only here, but by investigation in other parts of the country. Prof. Richards, of Cooper Union, has conducted an investigation in New York, in which he feels that the returns have confirmed the earlier conclusions and have been most significant. But I have been interested within the last week to find from a certain study being conducted in a particular section of the city of Boston that in the case of two hundred girls who had left school two years ago, those families being

followed for successive years, there is a very strong confirmation of this conclusion in that report where the families were known by the investigators and where a series of visits has been made since that time. The children who enter an industry at the earlier age should be studied with regard to the kind of industry they enter, and the question of the juvenile trades which seemed to take such a large number of these children in the larger cities is one of extreme importance, those trades not leading to anything in the future—such as the department stores, which take girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, and the messenger service, which takes the boys. The increasing age absolutely excludes the child from continuation in the industry.

I think therefore—I wish to conclude with this statement—that the passage of this law, while perhaps working toward an exclusion of children from some industries, would not work an injury to the larger proportion of families whose children are at work, even though the reduction of family income would result now, when in the future that would be more than made up, because we find the children up to the age of twenty and twenty-two years turning their income into the family, and the family itself, therefore, in a few years, would reap the benefit. Furthermore, the standard of living would not be reduced to a point below that to which I have been pleased to give the term of a low-grade standard for the family, and the small number of families actually in need of this income may rather be looked upon as the incidental or accidental family.

CHAIRMAN: Have you any figures that show what the average wage is of the children employed now under the age of sixteen?

DR. KINGSBURY: I have some data with regard to that question. Of course, it varies somewhat with the industries. I could present to the committee a more complete statement with regard to the average wage, or even a classified wage, if the committee so desired. I can at the moment, if the committee particularly wishes, make a statement with regard to that.

CHAIRMAN: So far as I am personally concerned I should be glad to have it to look over. We would like to have you furnish some statistics or information, if you can, bearing on this subject.

DR. KINGSBURY: I should be very glad to do so. At present it would take some few moments to run through this.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: I would like to have Dr. Kingsbury,

if she will, in giving those facts to the committee, present facts in regard to children employed in the cotton-mill industries, as in New Bedford and Fall River.

DR. KINGSBURY: That is quite possible, because in making the report the commission appreciated the fact that not only the various cities which have a single predominating industry would be anxious to know what the effect of such legislation or movement would be upon that city, but also that the industries individually might desire such data, and it is so classified that it would be possible.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: It appears to me from your argument that you wish to exclude children entirely between the age of fourteen and sixteen.

DR. KINGSBURY: The argument presented might convey that impression, simply because the study was made for the purpose of discovering what was the need of industrial training, and, therefore, considered the effect of entering these industries upon children between fourteen and sixteen. My contention is simply this: that the argument against this bill might be that it would exclude children from the industries, and the question then arises as to the effect. I think ex-Governor Guild made before the National Child Labor Committee a statement that in Ohio that question had been solved by shifts of children, so that the industry which needed child labor, by arranging with shifts, could continue. I think it is not right to assume that this argument is made for the purpose of convincing the committee that children should be excluded under sixteen. While it may seem under these returns that even that measure could be possible and desirable, yet should this bill work in that direction it would not be an injury to the families at stake.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: The reason I ask that is because there is a bill before the committee raising the standard from fourteen to sixteen.

DR. KINGSBURY: I did not know that.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: I would like to ask Dr. Kingsbury if this investigation extended into the rural communities or whether it was confined entirely to cities and to factory conditions?

DR. KINGSBURY: It extended into the rural communities to this extent, that the whole district, for instance, of Great Barrington was studied; that many of these mills are located up and down the streams in rural districts; that the superintendents of schools were

approached in the same way as superintendents of schools in the larger communities, and that in some communities the names of children who had studied were taken from the list of children who dropped out of school to go to work. In that way some of the children in the rural districts had to be reached, and in some of the cities the names were reached through the census, which would also include those who were going to work. Beyond that the material has not been classified.

STATISTICS ON BILL NO. 329, PROVIDING FOR AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY FOR CHILDREN UNDER SIXTEEN.

[Submitted by Susan M. Kingsbury, Professor of Economics, Simmons College, and Director of the Investigation of the Relation of Children to the Industries under a sub-committee of the Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, 1906.]

I. Attitude of Employers Toward Employment of Children.

Of 354 employers interviewed:

1. Sixty-three per cent. declared that children were of no value to the industry. About one-third of the employers in the cotton industry also declared that children were of no value to the industry.
2. Eighty per cent. declared that they did not wish to employ children in their industry while in the cotton industry. Forty-two per cent. declared they did not wish to employ children.
3. Forty-seven per cent. do not employ children between 14 and 16 years of age at present, although in the cotton industry all but one firm did have some children under 14 employed.
4. Seventy-five per cent. among cotton employers urged that more education of the child would be of great advantage to the industry, and 41 per cent. urged that industrial training for the children would be of great advantage to the industry.

II. Reasons Why Children Go to Work

a. GENERAL

1. Seventy-six per cent. of the 3000 families interviewed are capable of giving their children industrial training if persuaded of the advantage—based on the earning capacity, exclusive of the income of the child between 14 and 16 years of age who is at work.
2. Fifty-five per cent. of the families desire industrial training for their children.
3. Only 45 per cent. of the children studied are reported by the parents as having left school because of necessity.

b. IN THE COTTON CENTERS

1. Forty per cent. of the families in the cotton cities show a decided interest in a school which would give their children wage-earning powers, and declare that they want their children to remain in school.

2. Sixty per cent. of the families in the cotton centers could have kept their children in school—based on the economic status of the family.

3. Less than one-sixth of the parents of children in the cotton mills are cotton operatives.

4. Two-thirds of the families represented by children in the cotton industry are apparently in comfortable circumstances, tidy, thrifty and intelligent in appearance, with an average income, outside of rents, of \$2.50 per member of the family, including all children, large and small. This does not include the income of the child actually at work between 14 and 16 years of age.

C. WAGES OF CHILDREN IN THE COTTON INDUSTRY

Average weekly wage at 14 years of age..... \$3.83

Average weekly wage at 15 years of age..... 4.66

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: By going to work, you mean going to work in factories?

DR. KINGSBURY: Yes.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: This bill includes all children employed in any work whatever. It would then affect the child on the farm just exactly the same as the child in the factory, and it was with reference to that point that I wanted to know whether your investigation reached outside factory work.

DR. KINGSBURY: I think while it may have extended outside factory work, the returns were not so classified.

CHAIRMAN: Is it your opinion that this law applies to employment of children on the farm?

MR. BROWN: There is no question whatever that the bill as drawn applies to all, to the child on the farm as well as in other sections. The bill reads: Section 1. No child under the age of sixteen years shall be employed at work performed for wages or other compensation, to whomsoever payable, more than forty-eight hours in any one week or more than eight hours in any one day.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: Yet section 2 provides only for the keeping of records in mercantile establishments.

MR. BROWN: That is because machinery for the enforcement of the hours of labor is already in force with regard to notice in mercantile establishments, but is not in force in reference to other occupations of children. So that we wish the enforcement of this new labor law so far as it is in existence, but do not attempt to extend it further than it is now extended.

Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, the secretary of the National Child

Labor Committee, can tell the committee a great deal that will be most interesting in regard to the operation of the eight-hour law in other states and the movement in general throughout the country.

MR. LOVEJOY: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I was invited by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee merely to be present, as I understood, to answer any inquiries that might be made regarding the operation of a similar law in other states. Mr. Brown and Dr. Kingsbury have so clearly stated the situation in other states there is little to be added.

Mr. Brown has referred to seven other states and the District of Columbia as already having in operation the law proposed in this bill. So far as we have any records—and we are studying constantly reports of factory inspectors and labor commissioners—since these laws have been put into effect in the states concerned there has been a steady increase of school attendance. There has been in some industries a decrease in the number of children under sixteen employed, but we have no record thus far that the law has so operated as to eliminate children under sixteen. I have the impression that a great many advocates of child labor legislation would be glad to have the law so operate if they were sure school opportunities were so far developed that the child would be reasonably taken care of between the ages of fourteen and sixteen.

Perhaps the only important point I can advance would be in answer to the question: Whether it was not true that the states in which the eight-hour law is in effect are the newer states in which manufacturing industries are small; states like Oklahoma and North Dakota; states that while they stand in the same rôle of dignity with older states, from the standpoint of industry are not to be compared? I want to answer that question by saying that three of these states are a conclusive reply: New York, Ohio and Illinois are among the states referred to. In all these states no child under sixteen years of age may work more than eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week (except in New York, in mercantile establishments, the period is nine hours).

A glance at the comparative industrial strength in some of these states may interest the committee, taken from the latest United States Census Report we have. In 1905 the census bulletin on manufactures, we find that Massachusetts, Ohio and Illinois are almost equal in the value of capital invested in manufacturing enterprises.

In Ohio (I will give only round figures) \$856,000,000 is invested; Illinois, \$975,000,000; Massachusetts, \$965,000,000, standing between two states which now have the eight-hour day in successful operation.

The value of capital invested in the State of New York is \$2,031,000,000, nearly three times that of Massachusetts. The number of wage-earners is in the State of Ohio, 364,000; Illinois, 379,000; Massachusetts, 488,000; New York, 856,000, or an aggregate of wage-earners in manufacturing pursuits in the three states that have the eight-hour day of 1,599,000. In this state the total number of wage-earners employed in manufacture is 488,000, about one-quarter the number affected, assuming that the eight-hour day in manufacture affected all wage-earners.

These are only suggestive statistics, and I should be very glad to prepare a more detailed report if the committee desires.

The matter of shifts has been spoken of. I have not a record here of the number of factories that have adopted this system, but I do know that in several factories in Ohio the matter has been so arranged that children affected by the eight-hour law are divided into two or three groups. I have in mind one paper box factory that divides the children affected by the law into three groups. The first group comes to the factory in the morning at seven o'clock and leaves at four; the second from eight to five, and the third from nine to six. At the first and last hour, one-third are at work; two-thirds are on duty the second hour, and the ninth hour, and eight hours of the day all the children are occupied. The same division might not be possible in all industries. This is one of the problems the manufacturer must adapt himself to, and I must say that the experience we have had in dealing with this kind of legislation in other states leads us to believe that the manufacturer who sees the importance of this higher legislation is very glad to work out some system by which he can adjust himself to it.

As representing the National Child Labor Committee, may I add that in our efforts for improvement of the conditions of the American child we have been accustomed in other parts of the country to look to Massachusetts for leadership. It has become a national habit. It has been a matter of regret to many of us that in this respect Massachusetts has fallen behind other industrial states. It would not only be a source of protection to the children of your

commonwealth to report favorably on this measure, but it would have a much wider influence, reacting on other states. It would be of special help in reducing the hours now so unreasonable in all states in which the textile industry is the predominating manufacturing industry. I believe it is a safe prophecy that if Massachusetts were to adopt a law of this character it would be a very short time before all the states engaged in this industry would follow the lead of your commonwealth.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: Now please tell us if you can in how many states is the law as drastic as this would be if passed here?

MR. LOVEJOY: There is no state (referring to agricultural pursuits) that has a law as *advanced*—may I use that term instead of drastic—as this; but there are several states where such a law regulates mercantile and industrial pursuits. In Ohio no girl under eighteen years of age may be employed more than an eight-hour day nor at night. The age in the case of the girl is raised above sixteen, giving her two years more to grow and be protected.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: So that this bill if passed would be the only state prohibiting child labor under sixteen on the farm?

MR. LOVEJOY: So far as I have any information.

CHAIRMAN: Have you any idea as to what extent this law is enforced in, say, New York State, or Illinois, or Ohio?

MR. LOVEJOY: So far as we can judge by official reports and by the private reports of our investigators the law is very rigorously enforced in all three states.

CHAIRMAN: I ask that question because I remember being in New York State in a large manufacturing center and I was told that in some factories it was not enforced at all, while in others it was rigorously enforced; that children were sent out at four o'clock in the afternoon at some factories but not in others. It may have been, of course, that the proprietors were not acquainted with the ages of the children. I would not want to make any misleading statement.

MR. LOVEJOY: Mr. Chairman, that is a criticism that might be made in any state and would point toward the efficiency or inefficiency of the enforcement of law, and the difficulty that many factory inspectors have. We have records of manufacturers who are so keen to evade the law that they have been known to allow the children a few hours intermission when the factory inspector was on his way. We have had records of cases in which telephone notice

has been sent into towns when the factory inspector took the train for that town. All these efforts at evasion are likely to occur at any time.

MR. BROWN: I will ask Dr. Charles P. Putnam, a practising physician in Boston, and particularly interested in children, to speak.

DR. C. P. PUTNAM: Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to be understood to be in favor of laziness. My family were all brought up to work, and I expect my children to work, and all other boys I have to do with. It is not activity and work which are objectionable for boys, but continuous work. I think there might be danger of our not realizing what is asked by this bill. It seems so very little! It is not that boys up to the age of sixteen should not be expected to work, should not be expected to go into occupations. This bill merely demands that boys up to sixteen should not work more than eight hours a day. It seems to me when we think of it so very little. Supposing we had here a dozen children—a dozen boys and girls up to sixteen years of age, and had them before us and looked at them, and thought of them as what they really are, should we say that they were fit to work for more than eight hours a day? I think it would seem absurd. Do we think of our own children as able to work more than eight hours a day? It has been said that the work is not very hard *always*. Light work is in some respects worse than moderately hard work. It is dulling to boys and girls to be occupied with light work for more than eight hours or any large number of hours. (Eight hours is, of course, an arbitrary number.) Sitting in one position or standing in one position—standing in one position hour after hour, or sitting hour after hour and doing some little thing is almost worse than working harder. We all know how particular we are in good schools to have the windows open and have children stop their school work and jump around a bit several times a day in sports, for which there is practically no time if the boy works even eight hours a day. We all consider it of the greatest importance to our children. The tissues of the young are not toughened nor properly developed; if they do not receive proper treatment they never will be properly developed. They are toughened in an improper way. We do not want stunted children in the community. Success in manhood depends upon proper development in childhood, and certainly it is not asking too much to demand that a child under sixteen should not work more than eight hours a

MR. BROWN: Mr. Bancroft, the attorney for the Arkwright Club, has asked me if I will interrupt my case long enough to let him speak now.

MR. BANCROFT: I just wish to take a moment because I have another engagement which calls me away. I represent the Arkwright Club, which is made up in a very large proportion of the textile manufacturers of Massachusetts, and I am instructed to say by the President of the Association that we do not oppose this legislation, and if the committee feel that it is for the best interest of the children of the Commonwealth, we do not as an organization desire to stand in the way of the passage of this measure or to object to it.

I think perhaps I should say that the result of the passage of this bill will probably be the elimination of what is known as young labor very largely from the textile establishments. That is, I think it will probably be considered unwise to employ under this restriction any considerable number of children under sixteen years of age. I simply state that as a fact.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: Then, as I understand it, it would mean rather than the child being employed eight hours a day, he will not have the privilege of being employed at all?

MR. BANCROFT: That would probably be the result in a great many corporations.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: Then it would resolve itself into what would be done by the child. They cannot adjust the mill to the conditions which would warrant the stopping of one kind of machine, the work of which was being done, to take care of another machine.

MR. BANCROFT: It is all a part of the system.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: It means, in other words, that you have to have uniform hours of labor for every kind of industry, that is, in every mill. The economic question of production means that each man has to work the same number of hours.

MR. BANCROFT: As a general proposition there could probably be a small number of children employed in certain parts of the mill—sorting waste and that sort of thing—but in so far as the running of machinery is concerned, the manufacturers would hardly like to have a considerable number of employees going out and the rest remaining.

MR. BROWN: I would like to have Mr. Bancroft tell us just

what children under sixteen are doing in the textile mills to-day. I understand from pretty good information that a large number are sweeping; that others are working in gangs, doing what is known as doffing, and there is no objection to having that mill run the full length of time or having different gangs of sweepers or different gangs of doffers, or having a couple of hours rest in the day. That could be done perfectly well without interrupting the work of the mill and without employing any child under sixteen years of age more than eight hours a day. I think we ought to have a statement from Mr. Bancroft as to just what the children are doing in these mills.

MR. BANCROFT: I do not desire to have Mr. Brown or any other person draw the inference that this would result in the elimination of children, because that may not turn out to be the fact. But in so far as the occupations are concerned there are several gentlemen on the committee quite as familiar with the interior working of the mills as I am. But in so far as the sweeping is concerned the number is very small. They are employed as doffers or bobbin boys. Principally in the spinning room they are employed. Then there are back boys and that sort of thing.

CHAIRMAN: Are there any persons present who desire to be heard in opposition to this bill? You understand there are three bills to be heard this morning.

MR. BROWN: Yes.

CHAIRMAN: Are you interested in them?

MR. BROWN: Yes, in two of them.

CHAIRMAN: Would not it be well to drop this, since there is no opposition?

MR. BROWN: This is not a case where we can win by default. If I might be allowed until half-past twelve on this bill I would like it.

I am next going to call on Miss Bertha Hazard. Miss Hazard is a teacher in the evening schools, founder of the Hemenway, and is greatly interested in work for girls.

MISS BERTHA HAZARD: Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: We have had some statistics very ably presented this morning in regard to the desirability of not having children under sixteen years work over eight hours. I have not any statistics to present, and if I had they would be simply supplementary to those

already presented. Simply as a practical observer, I am very glad to have the opportunity to put in my word of testimony. I have been for three years principal of one of the evening schools of the city. This is my fourth winter. I have had opportunity to see a good deal of the evening capacity of girls who work during the day. Knowing that this hearing was to be to-day, I went last evening into what you might call a typical school room, the Quincy evening school on Tyler street. Tyler street is in the vicinity where there are a great many Assyrians and Greeks, some Italians and a good many Russian Jews—a cosmopolitan section.

I went into what is called technically in the evening schools a double school—that is, a room where there are two teachers. We are restricted by the state regulations to forty pupils; there were in this room last night forty-two pupils. I made a careful memorandum concerning those forty-two little girls, knowing that particular room could be easily duplicated in any part of the city where there is a congested district. There were quite a number of rather tall, well-formed girls from Assyria and from Ireland. Those girls have been here only a short time. They were more than the ordinary height; they were in better than the average physical condition. They had worked in the factories. They have been in this country so short a time that they do not speak English at all. I suppose that in Boston we would resent with a good deal of vigor the statement that we do not offer to the children as good conditions as they do in Ireland. I suppose the people in Boston ought to be able to care for them better than they would in certain of the districts in the interior of Ireland or remote from the centers of civilization in Assyria. And yet I think that is not so among the girls and boys of the congested districts, and I think these girls I saw in the room last night are a good instance in detail of that proposition. The girls in the room who had been here a short time and were learning English very painfully and with very little progress, I must say, were taller, better made, more developed, more satisfactory as specimens of girls in the community than were the little, stunted, undeveloped, nervous, and, I might add, naughty, restless, unattractive girls in that particular school room who had been born in the Old Country but had come over when they were two or three years old, had gone to school here, had lived under the crowded conditions of the working families in certain parts of the city and who now, at the

age of fourteen or fifteen, had gone to work. I wish I had the exact measurements I selected from that room. I did not have time last evening to take them carefully and accurately. I took them as well as I could, knowing my own height, and standing carefully by one girl and another to see how she would compare. Now allowing the girls as they came from Assyria or the Russian Jews—allowing that they ought not to be as tall as American girls, taking off two or three inches, because they are usually shorter, and then estimating what would be normal for them, it seemed to me to clearly show that there was an average of five to six inches in height. That is, out of about twenty I estimated pretty nearly a lack of ten feet of growth those twenty girls should have had.

If that were an exceptional school or an exceptional case there would be no use talking about it. But, I think, as matter of fact, these conditions could be easily duplicated in my own school, in any evening school I know of in the north or south end of the city, that out of twenty girls who are ten feet shorter than they should be, their strength, their muscle and everything else, also perhaps their minds and morals, are in proportion to the ten feet, although I think their morals hold out better than anything else. But the lack of physical development shows so plainly that I think anybody who hesitated about a bill of this kind would only need to be taken from room to room in the schools of the city to be convinced.

I should like to add a word in regard to the statements made by two or three speakers, my idea being wholly from the practical side, and not from that of the idealist and statistician. It was mentioned, I think by the first speaker, that it was not in most cases a matter of necessity of keeping the wolf from the door that sent the children to work. I was in Chicago at Hull House some years ago, when a very thorough investigation was made; and the result of that investigation was absolutely that in a surprisingly small percentage of cases is it the necessity of keeping the wolf from the door that sends the child to work. They like to go sometimes because they get tired of school, or do not do very well there, or like the excitement of the store; or they go because they like the piano or the banquet lamp, or the extra clothes or other things secured at the cost of their own development. Of course it is not fair to expect any family living from hand to mouth to be very keen in appreciation of the value of the future.

You cannot expect any mother or father, probably, in the average working family to respond to the argument that if he will keep his daughter in school three or four years longer she will be able to earn more and will be worth a good deal more than if allowed to go to work now. That is too far-reaching. The girl may be married before then and probably will be. The present is the only thing they can think about. But I think it true that in surprisingly few cases is it the wolf at the door that forces girls and boys to work, especially girls. There are other reasons more controlling than wolves at the door.

I think the conditions in Massachusetts are not such as to make it necessary to keep a child at work in order to keep him out of degrading influences. That seems a very clear statement—a very provable one. As an instance, I had come to see me a few evenings ago a very good looking, bright Assyrian girl. She had obtained a certificate which allowed her to leave school and go to work. She had come to evening school very regularly all the year, beginning early in October. About the first of January she ceased to come. In looking up this child—she is under sixteen, very nearly sixteen, probably—to find why she was absent, she said that about the first of January she had gone to work in a shoe factory, which is one of the best shoe factories in the neighborhood of Boston. She lives in the city. The work begins at seven. That means she gets up at 5.30 and works until about 5.30 or 6 o'clock, and when I protested against her working from seven to six, she said she had been working overtime. I said, "Well, Mary, after you get home what time is it?" "It is half-past six," she said. And then I very cruelly said: "You could get your supper and then come to school." And she replied, "I am so dead tired I can't do anything but go to bed." That child used to work in a chocolate factory near and so used to come to school. When she said she went to bed early I think she was romancing a little, and that sometimes she spent the time on the streets. The ten hours a day or nine and a half is forcing that girl on to the street. She would have energy to come to school and would want to come if she worked a normal eight-hour day. Now she is working nine and a half or ten hours a day and she has not the energy to care about geography or arithmetic or any other thing.

One other item has been mentioned, in regard to its being

the child and not the parent who is responsible for the beginning of work at an early age. I want to give my very hearty agreement to that statement. In nine cases out of ten, as far as my observation goes, it is the girl that puts the child to work. By the proper arrangement of her surroundings and the proper legislation to keep her in school, she could delay her going to work without keeping back in any way the finances of the family.

MR. BROWN: I am going to call only one more speaker. I will ask Mr. Meyer Bloomfield, a member of the Massachusetts State Child Labor Committee, and the head of the Civic Service House, to speak.

MR. BLOOMFIELD: I will confine myself to two statements and then withdraw. I have for nine years watched the effect on hundreds of young people in the north end who are attempting to equip themselves for citizenship in this country under nine hours a day of work. I wish to say that it is about as big a handicap as I can think of. It is a costly investment, this evening school investment in Boston, and the present hours of labor for these young people thwart the success and result of that expensiveness. For over a year at the request of the superintendent of schools in this city I have had every case investigated where a child fourteen years of age applied for a working certificate, and in every case investigated I had parents come to me. In the first place, we are not shutting children out from work between fourteen and sixteen. We are mitigating the conditions of labor so that they can profit by those advantages. In the second place, if they were shut out, the same argument which applies at the age of fourteen applies between fourteen and sixteen. And it is a question of how much we want to do for those children in passing this legislation. It may be too hard to shut them out entirely, therefore we are trying to adjust things with the least possible hardship. We know that some parents need the help of their children. But we know that the commonwealth needs the strength of its children, and that is an infinitely better and stronger argument than is the case of any individual hardship which can be brought up. The whole child labor proposition, if we listen to a few individual cases which are properly the object of help—the whole child labor proposition goes to pieces. Now on behalf of making more effective our educational investment in Massachusetts, and on behalf of the children, we ought to pass some such measure as

this. It seems to be perfectly sane and reasonable and will not affect so many as to revolutionize labor matters in Massachusetts.

MR. BROWN: Mr. Joseph Lee was to be present and speak in favor of the bill.

MR. JOSEPH LEE: I don't think I can add anything, Mr. Brown.

MR. BROWN: Mr. John Golden, of Fall River, had agreed to come to this meeting and speak in favor of this bill. Mr. Golden has telegraphed the Secretary of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee: "Regret I cannot attend the hearing. Heartily endorse all three bills."

I think it may be said further that Mr. Golden has distinctly told the secretary of our committee that in his opinion this law will go into effect without excluding children from the textile mills; that the thing will be arranged in some way by shifts of hours.

I have here a list, which I will hand the clerk, of organizations which have endorsed all three bills for hearing this morning.

Representatives from the following organizations co-operated with the Massachusetts State Child Labor Committee in preparing legislation:

Massachusetts Branch, American Federation of Labor.
Boston Central Labor Union.
Associated Charities of Boston.
Boston Children's Aid Society.
Boston Children's Friend Society.
Children's Mission.
Conference of Child-helping Societies.
Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
Society of St. Vincent de Paul.
Consumers' League.
Women's Educational and Industrial Union.
Women's Trade Union League.
Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs.
Boston Social Union.
Boston School Committee.
Massachusetts Civic League.

The five bills have been endorsed by the following organizations:

CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS

Andover Guild.
Brookline Friendly Society.
Dedham Board of Charities.

Associated Charities of Gloucester.
 Associated Charities of Salem.
 Associated Charities of Somerville.
 Associated Charities of Watertown.
 Associated Charities of Newton.
 Lowell Ministry-at-large.
 Springfield Union Relief Association.
 Managers, Industrial School for Girls, Dorchester.
 Managers, Boston Female Asylum.

Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government.
 Haverhill Board of Trade.
 Malden Board of Trade.
 Roslindale Citizens' Association.
 Somerville Board of Trade.

WOMEN'S CLUBS

Auburndale, Review Club (40 members).
 Billerica, 1900 Club.
 Braintree, The Philergians.
 Bridgewater, Ousamequin Club.
 Dorchester, Current Topics Club.
 Dorchester, Woman's Club.
 East Weymouth, Monday Club.
 Everett, Friday Club.
 Haverhill, Hannah Dustin Club.
 Haverhill, Papyrus Club.
 Hudson, Woman's Club.
 Hyde Park, Current Events Club.
 Ipswich, Woman's Club.
 Milton, Woman's Club.
 Needham, Monday Club.
 Newton Highlands, Monday Club.
 Newton Social Science Club (excepting eight-hour bill).
 Provincetown, Nautilus Club.
 Quincy, Woman's Club (350 members).
 Reading, Woman's Club (300 members).
 Roxbury, Roxburghe Club.
 South Boston, Mattapanock Club.
 South Deerfield, Woman's Club.
 Stoneham, Woman's Club.
 Watertown, Woman's Club.
 Winchester, The Fortnightly (400 members).
 Wollaston, Child Nurture Club.

Mr. George Wheelwright, Jr., a representative of the Congregational Union of Jamaica Plain, dropped me a note to say that of the committee to study current topics, fifteen members present

voted with reference to this bill unanimously in favor of it, and he was assigned to come here and represent them. He is interested in the paper manufacturing business and sees in it no injury to his business.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that our case here is proved by Dr. Kingsbury and Mr. Bancroft alone. We can discard entirely the notion that we are injuring Massachusetts industry in passing this bill. The employers of children under sixteen have received the fullest kind of notice. We have circularized them; we have published in the paper the program we intended to carry out this year, and it has been known by employers—it must have been known—and the only representative that comes here is a representative of textile manufacturers to say that they do not oppose it. It seems to me that from now on the question of the effect on industry can be eliminated, and it is only a question of the effect on children.

As to the effect on children, Dr. Kingsbury's investigation contains all the information you need. That investigation was made by a commission appointed by the governor of this state, a commission on industrial education. It was a good piece of work and a thorough piece of work, and Dr. Kingsbury comes here and tells you that 76 per cent. of the families in Massachusetts in which there are children under sixteen now working—76 per cent. of them could, in the opinion of the investigators, get along without having their children work at all until they get to be sixteen years of age. There was a larger per cent. who, in their own opinion, could get along, but in the opinion of the investigators there were 76 per cent. Now, it must be a much smaller per cent. than that who will be injured by this bill, because we don't prohibit labor under sixteen, we only restrict it to eight hours a day. If there comes the pinch, the actual necessity, there must be opportunities for work. It must be a very small percentage, indeed, of families in Massachusetts who will actually want for the necessities of life because their children under sixteen are allowed to work only eight hours a day.

There has been a special feature of the case mentioned in the course of the hearing, and that is the application of this bill to labor upon farms. The bill, of course, would prohibit work on farms by a child under sixteen for more than eight hours a day, just as it would prohibit work in other lines. In the first place, I made

the statement that the law in seven other states, including the District of Columbia, did apply to farms, and when I said it, it was my opinion. We will send to the committee a memorandum of the eight-hour law in other states, and they can see whether it does or does not apply to farms. My impression is that in some, at least, of those seven other states, the eight-hour bill is a broad, sweeping bill which prohibits any kind of labor for a child under sixteen for more than an eight-hour day. Now, should the bill be reported as it is introduced, or should an exception be put in the bill which shall render it inapplicable to children under sixteen at work on farms? I cannot believe that it is very important, one way or the other. I have here something which is headed "Decennial Census, Bulletin No. 10, issued by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor," which shows that the number of children at work from ten to fifteen years of age is classified by occupations and by special ages under each occupation, and the number of children occupied in agriculture in the state is seven. There is the State Census of 1905, which shows that there are seven children under fifteen years of age working on farms throughout the state. Now, there cannot be many more now working on farms. Of course, we must remember that the child who works on the farm for his parents in connection with the work of the family, splits the kindling or works in the kitchen, isn't prevented by this bill, because this bill only applies to children who work for wages or other compensation. So that it must be an extremely small number of children who work on farms that this bill would affect. So far as it does operate, I cannot see that it is not just as logical to prohibit them from working on the farm as anywhere else. Eight hours' labor on a farm is a good deal for a child of sixteen to stagger under. I say it should be allowed to affect children working on the farm as well as in the factory. If there is here in the bill a point on which the committee cannot agree with us, the committee, of course, has power to report an amendment which shall make it inapplicable to farm labor.

CHAIRMAN: Mr Brown, you don't see why a child on the farm should not receive an education as well as the boy in the mill, do you?

MR. BROWN: Not the slightest.

CHAIRMAN: Are there any other questions? If there are no petitioners or remonstrants, we will close the hearing on this bill.

MR. BROWN: Bill 331, in place of the existing laws, provides that no child between the ages of fourteen and sixteen shall be employed at work before 6 o'clock in the morning or after 7 o'clock in the evening, except on farms. Under existing laws there are not many prohibitions on night work for children under sixteen, except those that apply to factories and mills, and in other occupations they are not prohibited at all.

Here, again, Massachusetts is behind the procession of other states. There are twenty-three states which restrict child labor at night more than Massachusetts does. Nine other states and the District of Columbia have substantially the same provision we are asking, that is, that they shall not work after 7 o'clock at night or before 6 in the morning. The operation of this bill is not to be on children working in factories, because the hours-of-labor provisions practically prevent factory employment at night, but in those occupations that children now work in at night, in department stores to some extent, in the messenger service to a great extent, in delivering bundles and parcels for department stores, as pin boys in bowling alleys, and a number of other things. It is our belief that for children under sixteen years of age to work at night, even under the best conditions, is bad and injurious. So we have made our bill broad and sweeping enough to cover all kinds of night labor, except on farms, where we do realize that the boy gets up early and goes to bed correspondingly early, and probably does not hurt himself. Within that broad field which we want to cover, and which we think ought to be covered, there are features of night employment of children which certainly call for legislative action, more particularly in regard to night messenger service, on which, perhaps, we have more evidence than on anything else. We have only three speakers to call on this bill, and in the first place I am going to ask Mr. Barrows to speak.

MEMBER: Mr. Brown, you thought it more necessary to recognize these farm boys on this bill?

MR. BROWN: I think it is quite different. I would like to say that was put in because we had an awful lot of trouble before this committee two years ago in regard to farm employment. We put it in not so much because we wanted it, but because we thought the committee might desire it, and, furthermore, this bill applies, perhaps, to boys working for the family as well as other boys employed

for wages, so that there may be many more than seven at work on farms.

The Supreme Court has recently decided in regard to the term "employment" in child labor laws that it covers a child assigned a particular task at a particular time, even if he does not get pay for it. It may be that this bill, as we have drawn it, will hit equally children not employed for wages, and it may be it may affect more than seven farm boys.

Mr. Barrows has been acting for the National Child Labor Committee in investigating throughout the country the conditions surrounding the work of messenger boys at night, and is able to tell you enough about the work of messenger boys at night here and in other cities in Massachusetts to make it perfectly clear to your mind that they should not be allowed to engage in that occupation.

MR. BARROWS: Mr. Chairman, I have come from a considerable distance on very short notice in order to be present at this hearing and set forth the facts in regard to the messenger service in the cities of Massachusetts as I have found them in personal investigation.

CHAIRMAN: May we ask what your occupation is, or who you represent?

MR. BARROWS: I represent the National Child Labor Committee as investigator. I have been for some time in the State of Massachusetts, in five or six of the principal manufacturing cities of New England, including Boston, New Bedford, Fall River, Springfield, Worcester and Lynn, and previously conducted the same kind of investigation in a number of other cities throughout the United States east of the Mississippi. At the outset, in presenting the whole question of the messenger service, I have been confronted with one very serious difficulty. From the very start my work has taken me into a labyrinth of the worst elements, the lowest and most vicious sides of life at night; this was necessary, and the conditions are such that it is absolutely impossible to put frankly before a gathering of this character life as a messenger boy sees it. I have tried to get around this difficulty by preparing a statement containing the features of this investigation to which public reference is difficult and placing this statement before the committee; but, on account of the short notice, the statement, unfortunately, is not completed.

CHAIRMAN: Can you present it later?

MR. BARROWS: I can present it later if I may be allowed to explain some things which you will find.

In the first place, the problem given us is very little known to one who has not seen it as I have. One reason is because it is so obvious. We all know that in the average American city—and this includes practically all the manufacturing cities in Massachusetts—there are companies organized to maintain a night service of boys to deliver messages and to do any other work they are called to do after 7 o'clock at night and before 6 o'clock in the morning. On the other hand, every man knows just what life is, just what the conditions are, and who the people are who are apt to need the messenger boys' service late at night. Consider that all legitimate business, except for a few industrial workers temporarily working overtime, railroad yards, newspapers, hotels—that with these exceptions practically all reputable business is closed and all reputable citizens have already retired. Yet there seems to be a demand for the service of night messenger boys, and the companies very obviously make a profit somewhere, otherwise they would not maintain the service. The question is: What becomes of the messenger boy, nominally fourteen, fifteen or sixteen (though undoubtedly there are about as many thirteen as there are sixteen, outside our larger cities)—what becomes of that boy, and what of his work in these great centers after 10 o'clock at night? I must beg the indulgence of the committee and of others at this hearing in speaking very frankly of matters to which it is not considered proper to refer, but my time is brief, I am without the notes I intended to present and the importance of the subject warrants frankness.

We all know that night is the great working time for three classes of people—the prostitute and the gambler and the keeper of the disreputable hotel and disorderly house. About midnight, or after 10 o'clock at night, you find all these places flourishing. Otherwise the streets are dark, with the exception of a few restaurants. The saloons are supposed to close at midnight; yet liquor is sold, men appear intoxicated on the street, liquor is drunk in the hotels and in disorderly houses after that time; and the connection between the saloons and these other places gives one phase of night life in which the messenger boy often figures. In Boston we are supposed to have a strict enforcement of saloon laws and a strict

enforcement in regard to prostitution; yet the messenger boys here in Boston are habitually employed to buy liquor after 12 o'clock at night and carry it to disreputable hotels and houses of prostitution. Where does the boy get this liquor? That is a question the boy himself would have to answer. I have put the thing to actual test. We have in the office of the committee here a bottle of whisky purchased through the agency of a messenger boy in the city of Boston after 12 o'clock at night, purchased without any added inducement, except a tip, and without the purchaser being known in any way. He went to a hotel, called a messenger boy, gave no intimation of what he wanted, or how long he wanted the boy. He told the boy he wanted the whisky; the boy went and got it, and received the money for the whisky; he gave the boy a tip and the customary charge of the company. That is all there was to it, except that the boy was questioned enough to show that he had a knowledge of more than one place where he could get it. The boy was exceedingly cautious about telling where he got the liquor. It looked suspicious, he said, if he told where he got it, or an attempt was made to discover that point.

Perhaps the worst side of the messenger boy's life is his contact with houses of prostitution. It is not a matter that I care to dwell upon, except by making frankly—and I am willing to substantiate the statement in any manner desired—the simple statement that boys are habitually used in those houses, sometimes to go out and purchase liquor for the inmates, sometimes to go to the Chinese restaurants to buy food. They become acquainted with the girls themselves in those houses, and on more than one occasion make mistresses of them. The girls use their arts of seduction on them, and in many instances the boys spend their time with them, while the company is sending them out at night as messengers. There is ample proof that these conditions exist right here in Boston, and they also exist in other Massachusetts cities. I have many authenticated cases, some of which I have set forth.

CHAIRMAN: These boys are under sixteen?

MR. BARROWS: I was about to come to that. Boston is to be congratulated, I think, as being one of the few cities of the United States in which the boys employed in the night messenger service are generally in the neighborhood of sixteen. Some may be fifteen, there are a good many seventeen or eighteen, and some are, as they

should be everywhere, adults. In Springfield I was out for some time with a boy of fourteen, and had some exceedingly shocking testimony on these lines which is undoubtedly true. In New Bedford, in company with a social worker, I was using a messenger boy fourteen or fifteen years of age as a guide, and the boy showed an intimate knowledge of the social evil as it exists there, and my companion, who lives in New Bedford and is well acquainted with that city, was able to corroborate it. In Lynn I had a boy between fourteen and fifteen who showed the same intimate knowledge of the darker life of that city, the extent of which I must again refer to this unseen manuscript. In Worcester I was out about midnight with a boy of fourteen. This city is supposed to be absolutely no-license, and the regulation of prostitution there is a matter of pride to its citizens. Nevertheless, the boys are used in the same way, with the single exception, I admit, that I could not establish a definite case of a messenger boy buying liquor in the city of Worcester. But I account for that in one way—by the confession of one of the boys that private detectives had several times tried to use them for that purpose, and the boys are very cautious. The conditions of the messenger service in Worcester are such that there is absolutely no reason why the boys cannot be used there in the same way in which they are used in Lexington, Ky., which is one of the most notoriously open cities in the United States; or in New York City.

All over the United States, not alone in the cities of Massachusetts, you will find the same conditions. You can go to a hotel, you can go to a saloon, you can go to a telephone anywhere, at any time of the day or night, and call up one of these companies, tell them you want a boy; you don't have to give your name, you don't have to tell them what you want the boy for, or how long you want him—you will get the boy. After the boy gets away from the office he is entirely subject to the order of the man calling him. He has to make a financial settlement with the company, and some companies even deduct the carfare from the boy's money in case the patron does not pay the carfare where it is required. The boy actually has to return a given amount of money to account for the time he has been, or by some ingenious fabrication he has to satisfy the company—not where he has been, nor as to the legal nature of his employment, but as to why he does not bring in the money. That has been the testimony not only of boys here in Massachusetts,

but in almost every part of the country. As to Massachusetts, the condition is briefly this: That there are at least seven of the largest cities where this service of boys is maintained up to 2 o'clock in the morning, in which it is actually possible for boys from fourteen to fifteen years of age, employed with the knowledge of the managers of the companies, to go to houses of prostitution, to buy liquor illegally, and to act as go-between for men and women in houses of assignation and disreputable hotels.

The final point I wish to make is this: that those calls are practically all that boy has; that is his world. That boy goes home at 3 o'clock in the morning, goes to bed and sleeps till 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Early in the evening he has a few packages to deliver; but the work narrows right down; it has been the testimony of boys of all cities that a great deal more than half the work of messenger boys is such as I describe.

The effect of all this on the boys is, I think, unnecessary to discuss. I think I can leave that safely with the committee.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Barrows, I would like to ask you if it is only in one section, or is it a matter of common knowledge in Boston where a boy under age can get liquor?

MR. BARROWS: I will have to preface my answer by saying that I was investigating the night messenger service and not the liquor problem.

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: No, but I mean, can these messenger boys get liquor in Massachusetts—say Boston, for example—as matter of common practice, being minors; and, also, can they get it after the time of closing, after 11 o'clock?

MR. BARROWS: It is practically universal, in and out of Massachusetts. The boy in uniform, fourteen or fifteen, can get liquor in any of these cities in Massachusetts. It requires a special knowledge, which knowledge these messenger boys possess, to know where to get the liquor after midnight; but most of them know how and most of them are willing to get it.

MR. BROWN: After the committee has heard Mr. Barrows' statement, and after the committee has read Mr. Barrows' typewritten report which he will present, I don't believe there will be any lingering doubt about the advisability

MISS ALICE L. HIGGINS: I do want to speak on this bill. So many arguments, however, have already been made to your reason

and common sense on the eight-hour bill that I need only add, please underline all these arguments three times and you have the right emphasis for these arguments in relation to prohibition of nightwork for children.

The real wealth of the community is in these three things—health, efficiency and character of the people. The question asked you is, "Does the employment of boys and girls of 14 to 16 years after seven in the evening increase this wealth?" If working ten hours a day in these formative years does not promote health, efficiency and character, I repeat, underscore the reasons why it does not, and you have the answer to that question. When this bill was drafted the committee had not had the results of Mr. Barrows' investigation in full. I agree with him that we have our age limit too low. The large number of boys in other kinds of work affected by this bill are the pin boys in the bowling alley, ushers in the cheaper theaters and delivery boys for the druggists. Please consider this employment for a moment. The pin boy at the end of the long alley is usually in bad air, with associations not educational. The same is true of the surroundings for boys in the theater. The years mentioned in this bill are those when body, mind and morals are most impressionable. The evils attendant upon the messenger service Mr. Barrows tells us exist for the delivery boys of the druggists, and no further word is necessary. Not healthy, well-ventilated, wholesome work does this nightwork appear to be.

Next, does it develop efficiency? You can see it is not work that leads anywhere; it does not give skill. It is not work which fits the youth for permanent, steady occupation, the kind of occupation that begins Monday morning and continues with regularity each day through the week. It is often work connected with "tips," uncertain wages, and work that can be done irregularly. The boys hang around the alley in the day, set up pins in the night. If they are not there Tuesday night, other boys are taken and they return and take chances for Wednesday. It does not develop the right sort of responsibility or lead to promotion; on the other hand, I have watched its effect on boys and have seen it lead to the Juvenile Court.

When you realize that people come to charity through a breaking down in health or character, or lack of efficiency, it seems a short-sighted policy to permit dangerous work in these years when

habits are being formed, and health may be permanently affected. A fair show for these boys is what we ask, and it is not giving them a fair show to permit them to do work unsuitable in type or performed at unsuitable hours and in unhealthy conditions. Do not be influenced by the arguments that these boys have all to support "widowed mothers." That is an exploded theory. Listen to one of the explosions; there are many others. A few years ago Miss Jane Addams presented these interesting figures, the result of a careful study in a manufacturing town. Two thousand five hundred children were employed in this town, and it was said their earnings were necessary for the support of widowed mothers. These were the facts—only sixty-six had widowed mothers, and of only twenty-three could it be said that their earnings were necessary for the support of their mothers. Please let that figure, twenty-three, banish any idea you may have that this proposed legislation will, if enacted, bring a large number of people to charity. It will do nothing of the sort. And in the few instances that may occur, is it not better economy for charitable folk to invest money in the care of those families and save to the Commonwealth the health and morals of its future citizens?

MR. BROWN: I have no more speakers to call in regard to this bill. The situation is this, if I may just sum it up briefly: that the evil in the messenger service is abundantly proved by the testimony and report of Mr. Barrows; that even outside messenger service, while it is not so particularly bad or so horribly bad to allow children to work at night, it is true, as Miss Higgins said, that night work is never beneficial; it leads to nothing; the sort of work that helps the child is never done at night. In the second place, it is bad for the child to be up at night and working at night instead of going to bed and to sleep. And, consequently, we put in the particular bill asking that no kind of employment shall be permitted children under sixteen.

State and Local Committees in Co-operation or Affiliation with the National Child Labor Committee.

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Child Labor Committee of the Juvenile Improvement Association, LOS ANGELES.—Mrs. Oliver C. Bryant, 956 Elden Avenue, Los Angeles, Chairman; Miss Evelyn L. Stoddart, 1052 Beacon Street, Los Angeles, Secretary.

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